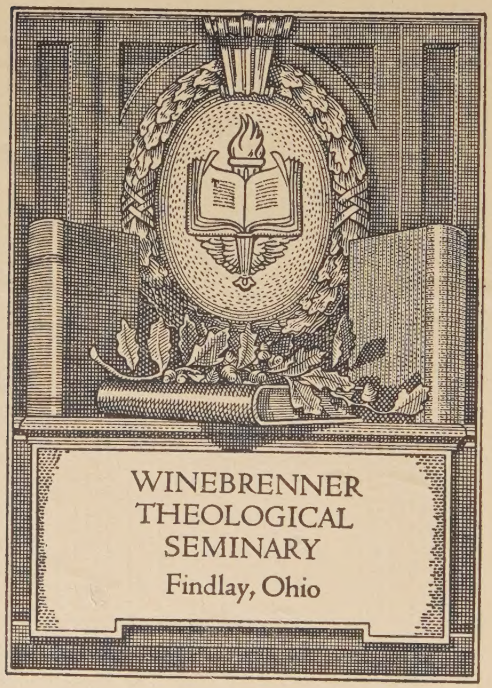
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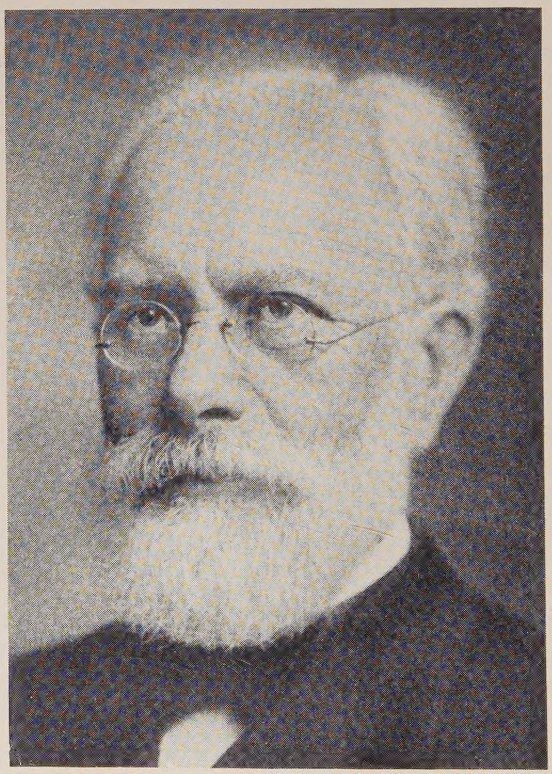

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1926

PRINTED AT
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PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

THIS VOLUME

OF

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THE TERM "FOREIGNER" (נכרי) HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

By MICHAEL GUTTMANN, Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, Germany.

THERE ARE TWO EXPRESSIONS in Scripture for the stranger: נכרי and גר. The meaning of the first expression is clear. נכרי is the real stranger who is only temporarily in the country; the foreigner who has not given up his original home. Moses says in his admonition to Israel, Deut. 29:21-23, "and the foreigner (נכרי), that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land . . . even all the nations shall say: Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land?" Here והנכרי is used as a synonym for הגוים, and is characterized as coming from a far land. Similarly David says to Ittai of Gath 2 (Sam. 15:19-20): "Return and abide with the king; for thou art a foreigner, and also an exile from thine own place. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee go up and down with us . . .?" The meaning of נכרי is most clearly defined in the prayer of Solomon (1 Kings 8:41-43): "Moreover concerning the stranger that is not of Thy people Israel, when he shall come out of a far country for Thy name's sake . . . Hear Thou in heaven, Thy dwelling place . . . that all the peoples of the earth may know Thy name." The same in 2 Chron. 6:32-33.

What is characteristic of נכרי therefore is the fact that he maintains the connection with his native country or with the country which he has left. In this he differs from the גר who in reality had *also* come from afar, but has severed the connection with his former country. While the גר thus seeks to become a member of the new community, the נכרי persists in keeping, politically and socially, his former status. From this differentiation it follows directly that the definition of the נכרי is comprehensively given in the expression itself. If I say: Foreigner, then

I have completely defined the stranger in a political and social sense. The גר however is not yet completely defined if I know only that he is a stranger who has joined a new community, for the allegiance may be of different degrees, and so may the rights and duties that result from his new allegiance. After this preliminary allusion to the meaning of גר we revert to the נכרי.

The foreigner is often the political or even the war enemy of Israel. Of נכרים as foreigners and plunderers speaks Obadiah 1: 11, "In the day that foreigners (נכרים) carried away his substance and strangers (זרים) entered into his gates and cast lots upon Jerusalem."[1] Lam. 5:2. "Our inheritance is turned into

[1] The synonyms נכרים and זרים should really both be translated "foreigners." However it is incorrect to translate נכרים "strangers" and זרים "foreigners;" for while the Israelite is often called זר especially in contrast to priests and Levites in matters of Levitical holiness, as Ex. 29:33, Lev. 22:10, 12, 13, Numb. 1:55, 3:10, 38, 17:5, 18:7, and still in a more comprehensive sense in Ex. 30:33, Deut. 25:5, נכרי as designating an Israelite can not be proven with certainty, at least not in the Pentateuch. The dubious לעם נכרי Ex. 21:8, which, by the way, is combined with לעם, we can disregard here. The נכרי therefore is foreign in a higher degree than the זר. Cf. the translations by Luther and Zunz; more correct is Kautzsch; yet "barbarians" is more than is contained in the meaning of נכרי.

In this connection the following passage from Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*,[2] p. 368, deserves special mention: "No stranger may partake of the sacrificial feast but only he who belongs to the Ḳahal, the religious congregation." Unfortunately, Benzinger here left out the reference which is all the more regrettable as no one can succeed in filling in what is missing. Bertholet remarks concerning this (*Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 72-73): "Perhaps Benzinger comes to his conclusion especially from the analogy of the Roman gentil-sacra which W. Robertson Smith also uses for comparison." Thus Bertholet did not find the reference either. But, in order to be on the safe side, he adds: "His passage may be unchallengeable depending on the meaning that one gives to the word *stranger*;" but this can not replace the missing reference by any means and also the indisputability becomes shaky if one enters into the particulars of the point in question. With regard to the resident of alien birth (גר), who, by the way, is not necessarily to be counted in the religious community—the expression Ḳahal as terminus is, according to the prevailing opinion, not at all applicable to a Ger, Kid. 73a—Bertholet himself remarks that the phrase of Benzinger has to be denied rather than confirmed. But even with regard to the foreigner the phrase is not indisputable. I only want to mention here that in the sanctuary of Jerusalem sacrifices were also accepted from the foreigner. Ḥul. 5a, Menaḥ. 73b and elsewhere.

strangers, our houses unto aliens." The attitude towards war-enemies, as it is expressed in the song of Deborah (Jud. 5) and elsewhere, naturally finds its logical reason in the fact of war.[2]

Benzinger's phrase, in my opinion, may have been caused by a misunderstanding. In the Pentateuch the express regulation occurs three times that no stranger—in Hebrew זר—may eat that which is holy: 29:33, Lev. 22:10, 13. In the first two places Luther translates the Hebrew זר וכל with "kein anderer" (no other), in the third place with "kein Fremdling" (no stranger). Kautzsch has everywhere "Fremder" for זר. Now if one reads a passage like Ex. 29:33, to take the very first, in Kautzsch: "but a stranger shall not eat thereof, for it is holy," and does not notice the connection one may get out of it just about what Benzinger claims to be true. But it is evident that the Hebrew זר, that is translated "anderer," or "Fremder" or "Fremdling" in all three places refers to the Israelite who, as far as the sacrifices and offerings of the priests are concerned, is a "Fremder."

This trifle shows how risky it is to trust analogies taken from other nations. This mistake best explains the misunderstanding of the quoted Biblical passages.

[2] Hostile feeling against aliens is really testified to only in cases of *war hostility*. Cf. Bertholet, op. cit. p. 8f. If Bertholet says, p. 9, that the general (hostile) feeling against the alien expresses itself *the harshest* where the attitude towards the war enemies is concerned, he supports a self-constructed norm with facts that are gathered from exceptional circumstances, which, by the way, is shown by the connection. Bertholet, moreover, evinces the intention to press the relationship between Israel and the aliens into a certain pattern introduced from the outside. One example will suffice to characterize this method.

After a quotation from Livius (Hist. XXXI 29) that is hostile to the stranger and the reference to the double meaning of "hostis," B. quotes the historian Meginhard: "Peregrinum, qui patronum non habebat, vendebant Saxones," and confirms it by the following Anglo-Saxon law: "Si peregrinus vel advena devius vagetur, et tunc nec vociferavit nec cornu insonuerit, pro fure comprobandus vel occidendus vel redimendus." As counterpart to the Anglo-Saxon law a Biblical passage obtrudes itself: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a bondman that is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, in the midst of thee, in the place which he shall choose within one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not wrong him." Deut. 23:16-17. Bertholet passes over in silence this Biblical passage and uses the Anglo-Saxon law as pattern for old-Israelitish life: "It was *not any different upon Old-Testamental ground*," says B. The expression is carefully chosen. The *Old-Testamental ground*, after all, is a great plain upon which not only the history of Israel transpires; but, after a passage from W. Robertson Smith, he comes back to the Israelites as the object that he has in mind. With a moderating "Im übrigen" Bertholet tries to smooth this antithesis into a parallel.

Socially and economically far more important is the role of the aliens as traders and intermediaries in the exchange of goods between Palestine and foreign countries. The sentiment derived from experience that commerce bridges distances and brings mankind closer together is true in an even higher degree of ancient Palestine, for the Israelitish people were dependent on alien traders. Amongst other things said in the praise of the woman of valor is (Prov. 31:24) that "She maketh linen garments and selleth them; and delivereth girdles unto the Canaanite." Something similar is written of Anna in Tob. 2:11-12. "That the gentilicium כנעני gradually became an apellativum proves that of yore the traders, who traveled among the Israelites, were not Israelites themselves but Canaanites."[3]

These foreigners traveled about the country in caravans. Especially mentioned are: Ephah, Is. 60:6; Kedar and Nebaioth, Is. 60:7; Midianites, Gen. 37:28, 36, Is. 60:6; Sheba, I Kings 10:2, Jer. 6:20, Ezek. 27:22, Job 6:19, and some southern nations

With regard to the matter itself it must be mentioned that the procedure of W. Robertson Smith to interpret Totemism into the Cain-story of the Bible is not weaker in its effect than the allegories of the old Schools. The text is deprived of its original meaning and serves, like an emptied skull, to receive a new filling that is placed within it in lieu of the former brains. The historian, who desires from the point of view of the history of civilization to understand and use the Bible according to its own contents, really ought to let it speak for itself. Just the story of Cain is narrated in so clear a manner that no doubt can arise as to the conception of the Bible. The fratricide "Cain fears the blood-feud, when his father's family shall grow larger; for as that a murder must be punished by the death of the murderer is a legal axiom written in every human breast, and that Cain now sees the world filled with avengers is precisely the mental state of the murderer who everywhere feels himself surrounded and tortured by avenging spirits (Ἐρίννυες)." Delitzsch to Gen. 4:14. The whole matter has absolutely nothing to do with the Anglo-Saxon law of the stranger.

[3] Bertholet, p. 2-3, gives a clear description of the trade routes and of the large traffic between Israel and foreign countries, and adds to his statements, p. 7, as a result: "So far from correct therefore is, considering all this, the later construction of history, which for the following centuries became the traditional conception, that due to the united advance of all Israel when they settled, the land had been tabula rasa . . . *Rather must the notion be entirely discarded that the old-Israelitish nation had from the beginning been entirely for tself, separated from all nations and had not contact with strangers.*"

such as the Dedanites, Is. 21:13, Ezek. 27:15. The caravan trade was very extensive and Palestine seems to have provided not only an opportunity for traders but also made possible an easy access to other countries. Palestine was traversed by the most important highways. Characteristic is the expression דלתות העמים "the gates of the people" Ezek. 26:2. Between the caravans and the inhabitants of the country a friendly relation prevails. Good transit is provided for; cisterns are installed on the highways. Every city provides a rather large space, usually before the city gates, where the trading takes place.[4]

The large alien traffic and the well-developed commerce testify that the stranger enjoyed in Palestine not merely temporary hospitality but also found ample protection in the customs of the country and the law-regulations. The life and property of the stranger seem to have been perfectly safe. The uninterrupted course of trade and the absence of complaints relative to acts of violence against caravans speak plainly in favor of this fact. Just how the laws, that protected the stranger so well, read can now no longer be ascertained. In the Pentateuchal legislation, if one dispenses with the doubtful לעם נכרי Ex. 21:8, the foreigner is spoken of in but four laws: a) in the king-law, he may not be elected as king, Deut. 17:15[5]; b) the Shemiṭṭa-law, the prohibi-

[4] Bertholet, p. 3f. Here Bertholet's reference to Ritter, p. 16, deserves special mention, where he emphasises that "a universal world communication with the then prevailing sphere of culture of the Old World was favored by connections through commerce and language, on land and on sea, with the Arabian, Egyptian and Indian as well as with the Syrian, Armenian, Greek and Roman cultural world in their common local and historical midst."

[5] In the king-law the meaning of נכרי stands out in a political sense. The fear that a nation might voluntarily allow itself to be ruled by a stranger has under normal conditions, no basis whatsoever. However it is well conceivable that a ruler, by virtue of the fortunes of war, successful rulership and clever politics may bring it about that a foreign nation will also desire him for its ruler. History is rich enough in political events that may cause a nation to appoint a foreign ruler over itself. The Israelitish king-law is, like the regulations in the constitution of every nation bearing upon this subject, of a purely public-political character and has the object in view to prevent the nation from falling under foreign rule. The regulation that one may not elect a foreigner as king does not belong, strictly speaking, to alien-law but to public law. Therefore, considered from a historical angle, it is a mistake to give

tion to demand payment of debts every seventh year, the so-called release year, has no bearing on the debts of foreigners, Deut. 15:3. Naturally, there exists no law prohibiting the foreigner collecting his accounts from the Israelite in the release year; c) in the law of usury, one may loan money on interest to the alien, and, likewise, the alien may take interest on his loan to the Israelite, Deut. 23:21[6]; and finally the foreigner is briefly mentioned d) in a ritual precept, meat that it is ritually unfit for eating may be sold to the foreigner, Deut. 14:21.

These four precepts make it evident that the relations be-

Deut. 17:15 a place in the alien laws. The universal and humane tendency, which for instance Philo in his writings reveals towards the stranger is not contradicted by his agreeing with a law in which it is asked that a nation shall not voluntarily subordinate itself to a foreign prince. Cf. Bertholet, p. 283f. To give to an alien equal rights and to appoint him king is not the same thing. Moreover, even the native-born citizens of a country are only seemingly equal in this regard. Cf. also E. W. Edersheim, *The Laws and Polity of the Jews*, p. 176.

[6] We can not enter here into details concerning the interest-law. By way of a hint it may just be pointed out that in the Talmud the intention prevails to maintain the interest-prohibition even in regard to aliens. B. M. 70b contains an interpretation of Prov. 28:8 "He that augmenteth his substance by interest and increase, gathereth it for him that is gracious to the poor," that even interest taken from the non-Jew causes the ruin of the receiver. In one place (Makk. 24a) it is emphasized that the verse 15:5 in Psalms, "He that putteth not out his money on interest, he (shall never be moved)" must be understood without any exception even of non-Jews. Difficulties are caused only by the fact that it was a law which could not be practised on a mutual basis. One could not very well expect from the non-Jew that he, too, should loan his money to the Jew without taking interest. Of interest is the attempt (B. M. l. c.) to bring proof from the Bible itself that one is not allowed to take interest from the non-Jew, although if the latter is the creditor, one must pay interest to him. Rab Naḥman, the supreme judge of Babylonian Jewry, quotes in the name of Huna the translation of Deut. 23:21: "To the foreigner thou mayest *pay interest*, but must not let him pay you interest," which translation can be justified from the Hifil form of the verb נשך as causative. Of course this exegesis can not be maintained as the continuation of the discussion shows, but it remains characteristic not only of the attitude that prevailed in the Talmudic Schools but also of the matter-of-fact way in which it was recognized that an interest-prohibition directed towards the outside could be one-sided only; the alien can not be prohibited from taking interest. By this one-sidedness many an unpleasant contre-temps was provoked.

tween the foreigner and the people were very intimate, otherwise a prohibition to elect him king would have had no necessity.[7] The Shemiṭṭa and interest laws directly affect the commercial life. From the angle of internal life these two laws appear as unfair exceptions; for the foreign trade, however, they were but the normal basis for a reciprocity through which both parties could secure the safeguarding of their individual interests. The foreigner could not very well be expected, in a year which the Israelites celebrated as a release year, to remit the debt of his Israelitish debtor. Nor could he be expected to loan money to his Israelitish customer without taking interest. If an equal basis for trading between Israelites and foreigners was to be established it could be attained only in this way; that the restrictions of the release year and the law of interest, which were not binding on the stranger a priori, were also void for the Israelite in so far as trade with foreigners was concerned.[8]

[7] Bertholet, p. 40, infers from this that aliens occasionally attained *high diplomatic offices at court.*

[8] The Biblical interest-law frequently was misused for polemic purposes. Here it shall only be pointed out that this unfriendly frame of mind has influenced even those scholars who did not misunderstand the meaning of the law. Thus Bertholet also does not fail to confirm his theory of the hostile tendencies of the Israelites towards foreigners with the Biblical "Wuchergesetz" (usury-law), and after having expressed his theory (p. 89) the sober scientific explanation follows, introduced by a diminutive "übrigens" (by the way). The explanation reads literally: "By the way, we are here thinking largely of Phoenicians to whom the discovery of trading on a money basis is attributed altogether and then we are dealing with regulations which in international commerce rested upon reciprocity." But, of course, Bertholet at once returns to his hostility theory. The fact that only the brother was, in the release year, to be released of his debts, is, for Bertholet, sufficient proof that "of a certainty the foreigner was considered to stand on a lower level, so to say as a *second-class human being*, as if there could possibly exist two scales of moral attitude towards man." The frame of mind of Bertholet is downright astonishing. For in order to judge the law of the release year justly only a little objectivity is required. Already Alexander the Great made the differentiation, which Bertholet here interprets so odiously, by releasing the Jews from taxes during the release year. He realized that the Jews during the year of release had a hard time to maintain themselves. The same economic principle is at the bottom of the law of debt release. But is it in any way justifiable that just in the economically poor year in which one has to fight internal misery, one should also

But where are the other laws to be found, to which the foreigner entrusted his life and his property?

This question is nowhere adequately answered. The two following possibilities exist:

a) Those precepts of private and criminal law bearing on menace and violation of the safety of life and property that pertained to the citizen were also valid in regard to the foreigner. Whether this extension of the scope of the legislation can be sufficiently justified by the exegesis of the Pentateuchal legislation or not, is of no moment to this question.

b) The foreign traffic was under the protection of a law-of-custom recognized by both parties, which, probably, was not fixed in writing; at least, nothing concerning the legal regulations of the caravan trade has come down to us in writing.

To the historian of civilization it may be a matter of indifference upon what basis the legal protection of the foreigner rested. To him the fact suffices that already in ancient Israel there was a flourishing caravan trade and that *single* wanderers also enjoyed the benefits of hospitality everywhere. "Where strangers approach one goes to meet them in order to invite them into the house. Water is brought to them for washing their feet. While the man prepares a young he-goat or a sheep or heifer the woman bakes cakes; with these she serves wine or milk or cream. Even the poorest widow does not refuse to the stranger the last of her oil and flour. For the night a good resting place is prepared; and for the animals straw is strewn and they are given fodder and water." These short statements are emphasized by Bertholet, p. 23, as the characteristic items gleaned from the scattered material that Holy Scripture contains relative to hospitality. But for an appreciation of the history of the Law in the Bible, and still more of the sources of the literature of the tradition, a closer examination of the two possibilities is of special importance; namely, whether the legal position of the foreigner can be traced back to the Bible or to an unwritten law-of-custom.

release foreign debts? Furthermore can one expect the foreign merchant or oblige him to *release* the Israelite *from his debts* in the Biblical release year? One sees upon first sight that foreign trade and the duty of debt release do not go together concerning a release year that cyclically returns in Palestine.

First, let us consider the latter as the more probable possibility. There undoubtedly existed pre-Mosaic traditions regarding hospitality and caravan trade, and it is more than probable that these traditions were still in effect in later times.

In order to prevent misunderstandings, it must be stated at once that the question is not to find a basis for the fact that robbery and murder of foreigners were forbidden. The laws of the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt not kill . . . Thou shalt not steal" are so comprehensive that one could have no doubt as to their validity even concerning aliens.[9] In this connection it deserves to be mentioned that, according to the biblical conception, murder is not only a crime committed against the fellow-man but also a sin against God. In classic antiquity the matter was entirely different. "According to the oldest Hellenic idea the murderer, as such, committed a crime against the deity as little as against law-abiding society (even Homer did not know of any expiation due the Gods for murder), but violated only the family sphere. Mosaism however, by virtue of its conception of the human being as of divine image, recognized in murder above all a sin against the Holy God, the Creator and Master of human life, Gen. 9:5,6, which sin has to be atoned for by the extermination of the guilty from the Holy Land defiled by blood-guilt."[10] If a master beats his own slave of non-Jewish descent in such a way that he dies under his hands, he is, according to Ex. 20:21, in the traditional interpretation of the words "he shall surely be punished," to be punished with death.[11] If he has smitten him so as to deprive him of an eye or a tooth he has to set him free in exchange, ibid. 21:26.[12] However, it has still to be considered

[9] Mekhilta, ad loc., brings the Sinaitic law into immediate connection with the respective Noaḥidic law, Gen. 9,6.

[10] Oehler in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*,[1] Art. "Blutrache."

[11] Mekhilta, ad loc., states that Scripture speaks of a Canaanite עבד כנעני and says at the very beginning that in Ex. 21:5, 12, "He that smiteth a man so that he dieth shall surely be put to death," the slave of foreign descent is included, and only for the sake of a supplementary regulation does Scripture repeat the whole law.

[12] Here too the slave of foreign descent is referred to, Mekhilta ad loc. According to the Talmudic conception every mutilation of a slave, even that

whether in foreign affairs the same sanctions were binding as in internal life. If one considers that in every-day life this question, perhaps more than any other, called for a solution based upon principles that were acknowledged by both sides, it is obvious that as regards foreign traffic, punishments and retributions were fixed according to customs and conceptions acknowledged also abroad, especially in questions to be solved on the principle of reciprocity. For the Israelite likewise found himself in a position to have his own affairs settled when he was beyond the boundary posts of his country. To mention only one example: The Israelitish king Ahab, after gaining the victory over the Aramaeans, gives to their king Ben-Hadad freedom and the cities in question, with the following words (I Kings 20:34), "The cities which my father took I will restore and thou shalt make market places for thee in Damascus as my father made in Samaria, and I will let thee go with this covenant etc." Kautzsch translates חוצות with "Kaufhallen" (salesrooms). From these short words one sees that at the center of the coalitions and treaties that Israel made with his neighboring states stood the market place or the quarter destined to serve for foreign traffic. The mercantile associations מקוה סוחרי המלך, I Kings 10:28, that had to procure King Solomon's ample demands of horses and other articles, carried on, almost exclusively, a foreign trade. We also have knowledge of business contracts that existed between Israelites and other nations. Thus the foreign traffic between Palestine and, at least, the neighboring countries must by no means be considered as entirely one-sided.[13] The common interests of commerce and traffic will have called forth many an agreement regarding the safety of transit that were made independently of Pentateuchal regulation, and the question concerning the safety of life would have been the first consideration herein.

Of special interest for our investigation is the retribution for homicide. There exist essential differences between the Pentateuch and the legal practices of other nations. What they undoubtedly had, originally, in common was the institution of

of a single finger, resulted in manumission of slavery. Kid. 24a. Also Yerush. ibid, 1, 3. יוצא בשן ועין וראשי איברים שאינן חוזרים (עבד כנעני).

[13] Cf. Bertholet, p. 18f.

blood-feud. This was annulled by the Pentateuch and its supplementary tradition almost entirely, and changed into a court procedure wherein hardly anything is left to the avenger except, in case of a death verdict, to take upon himself the task of the execution (likewise conducted according to given regulations) or to help in it.[14]

It is not plausible that the aliens should have desisted from the tradition of blood-feud, so deeply rooted in the soul of the people and not unknown to the Israelites also. If one follows this tradition in its later development, as it has evolved uninfluenced by the Bible, one will find that the idea of revenge was merely the starting point of the institution. Into its core another idea entered. As the conception of self-defense was regarded, of necessity, already in the consciousness of primitive man as the indubitable right of the person attacked, so, where self-defense failed in its purpose, the settling of the affair with the murderer was also conceived as the private affair of the nearest relatives of the murdered person. The family saw in the institution of blood-feud a right firmly founded and sacred by the fact of their kinship with the murdered person, and every interference on the part of an outside authority was felt to be an encroachment upon the autonomy of the family. This state of mentality explains much that is dark in the history of Law. The Codex Hammurapi contains no regulation concerning homicide in the strict sense of the word. If someone waylays his enemy and treacherously mur-

[14] The attack that Frd. Delitzsch directs against the Pentateuch because of the idea of blood-feud (*II. Vortrag über Babel und Bibel*, 26) classical scholars have never taken seriously. The history of Law has few phrases that are as clear as the pre-Mosaic existence of the blood-feud, "that until today rests like a curse upon the nations of the Orient." And no clear-seeing eye will be able to find in the Pentateuch the *origin* of this institution. "With regard to blood-feud one can not speak of divine sanctioning but of divine restriction of this custom. For in the book of the covenant and everywhere else *places of protection* from the revenge of the relatives are opened for him who unintentionally kills someone. E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*,[2] p. 281, *Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 98.

That "already Hammurapi has effaced all the traces thereof (of blood-feud)" is likewise a claim for which Delitzsch could not gain the concurrence of the scientific world. König, l.c and cf. the next note.

ders him there exists no paragraph against him in this Codex. That premeditated murder should go unpunished is unthinkable, especially as the Codex inflicts severe punishments for lesser crimes. Therefore, in all probability, the explanation is correct that intervention against a murderer was not considered a matter for a public court, but the private affair of the family concerned. The family itself has to determine whether and to what extent the murderer is to be punished; *it* enjoys the unrestricted right to do with the murderer as it sees fit.[15]

In contrast to the Codex Hammurapi the Pentateuch has just on this point more detailed regulations; only they are not favorable to the old traditional right. Here the avenger loses his entire autonomy. According to his old right he was at liberty, (a) to call to account the family of the murderer in case the murderer had fled, (b) to enter into negotiations in case he preferred damages or ransom to blood-revenge. Both are prohibited by the Pentateuch. But the latter right the people were the least willing to relinquish. In reality, it was this fact that secured to the institution of autonomous blood-feud a disproportionately long survival. Only too often they sought, by exercising this right, to satisfy material interests and found in the virtue of reconciliation a ready cloak. Mohammed sanctions the taking of ransom with the words: "O believers! retaliation for blood shedding is prescribed to you: the free man for the free, and the slave for the slave, and the woman for the woman. But he, to whom his brother shall make any remission, is to be dealt with equitably; and to him should he pay a fine with liberality. This is a relaxation from your Lord and a mercy . . ." (Koran 2, 173-174.) The redeeming of a murderer by paying a sum of money is also native to the ancient Greeks.[16] In Roman Law traces can

[15] M. Sulzberger, *The Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide*, p. 13. "There is here no hint of a general law of homicide . . .This means not that such atrocious deeds were approved or condoned, but that the state had not yet accepted as part of its function the protection of the lives of its citizens in general. Nor does it mean that every individual man was left to look out for himself, without help from anybody. No great state could live in such rank disorder. The reasonable inference is that minor corporations, such as families, guilds or clans, had jurisdiction over homicide."

[16] Cf. G. B. Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*,[3] I, 189, Art. "Blutrache."

still be found of the right to kill and buy off punishment.[17] In the Germanic criminal Law private autonomy plays an important part until the adoption of foreign Laws. "From the very beginning it saw in crime an attack upon the individual, which to punish he and his kin were as much entitled as they were obligated for the death of a free man (blood-feud). Later on the buying off of the punishment could, and then had to take the place of the punishment itself."[18] In Anglo-Saxon Law different amounts were fixed for the life of a free man, according to rank and standing of the murdered person.[19]

Considering all this it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that foreigners who were in the country only temporarily did not forego their autonomous right of self-help.[20] In other words the Pentateuchal regulations concerning homicide could not practically be extended to foreigners. They were not subject to these regulations. Moreover the Biblical regulations contained local factors that were of greater importance for the regular inhabitant than for the transient stranger. Above all, the deliberate course of a regular court procedure would have been

Oehler, l.c., "According to the oldest Hellenic conception the murderer, as such, commits a crime against the deity as little as against law-abiding society, but violates only the family sphere." Cf. especially A. P. Bisell, *The Law of Asylum in Israel*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 55, note 3: "This prohibition (of the Mosaic law) of release from the penalty also contrasts sharply with the Greek and Roman custom, in accordance with which the manslayer makes terms with the surviving relatives of the slain by payment of blood money."

[17] K. Birkmeyer: "Das Strafrecht" (in his *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*,[2] p. 1102) Cf. also the previous note.

[18] Ibid. l.c.

[19] H. Maine, *Ancient Law*, ch. 10: "Under the Anglo-Saxon Law," writes Mr. Kemble (*Anglo-Saxons*, I. 177), "a sum was placed on the life of every free man, according to his rank, and a corresponding sum on every wound that could be inflicted on his person."

[20] The practice of private self-help through ransom was favored also by the fact that the Israelites amongst themselves sometimes made use of this old popular right. This is shown by the repeated warnings of the Torah not to accept ransom from murderers. Cf. especially Sulzberger, op. cit., for the words "kofer," "wergild." Nöldeke, "Blutrache" (in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, I, 470-71).

too slow for a passing caravan. The strict differentiation between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide, and the regulation that the unintentional murderer had to live in a City of Refuge until the death of the High Priest could give little satisfaction to the passing alien. The exiled man was, by his fear of the avenger, confined to the City of Refuge. However, this fear was naturally existant only if caused by an avenger, who lived continuously in the country, and therefore was able to observe an escape from the City of Refuge. Passing strangers could not exert such a control. We shall not be wrong, therefore, in assuming that in relation to transient aliens, caravan transports and groups of foreigners, who at certain times brought their goods to market in the larger business centers, the extra-tribunal popular procedure of blood-feud was in usage. The barbarism of the blood-feud institution, in which by force of its nature the strict differentiation between premeditated and unpremeditated action could not be duly weighed, was—as mentioned before—mitigated by a leniency —likewise not justified Pentateuchically, but frequently respected —that the avenger might consider himself satisfied by a "wergild" or ransom.

We come now to the extraordinary passage that the citizen of foreign birth גר and the slave, neither one of whom could expect any protection from foreign powers, irrespective of their full standing in the Jewish-religious community, found their place within the Pentateuchal regulations, while the foreigner stood outside of these laws, although, politically and economically, there was every incentive to maintain terms of friendship. The discrepancy disappears if we know that the foreigner, in these laws particularly, would have seen an interference with his autonomous rights and might have had the desire to persist in his accustomed practice of self-help.

The autonomous self-help, as we contrast it here with the domestic legal practice, goes back to more ancient times. During the time of the second Temple Palestine is, for the most part, under foreign rule. Towards the end of this period the Roman empire steps into the foreground. 40 years before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple criminal jurisdiction was withdrawn from the Jews altogether. However reminiscences of the

old conditions are still to be discerned in several passages of the older Halakha.

Mekhilta to Ex. 21:14 commenting on the verse "upon his neighbor", remarks "to exclude others (foreigners נכרים are meant; this exclusion refers to death punishment, which the text fixes for homicide). Issi ben 'Akiba says: Before the giving of the Torah we were warned concerning the shedding of blood; should it after the giving of the Torah have been treated more lightly instead of more severely? In reality they (the Sages) have said: He is free according to the verdict of a court of flesh and blood but his judgment is transferred to heaven."[21]

This passage shows how, through subsequent exegesis, they tried to justify a dark tradition. They only knew that Jewish tribunals, from earliest times, had nothing to do with the criminal cases of the foreigner and tried to justify this fact exegetically. This limitation of scope however, such it was in principle, appeared at first sight, as a departure from the pre-Sinaitic law which, in Gen. 9:5-6, prohibited murder in toto as a heinous crime. The answer was that only the tribunal as such was not able to inflict a penalty, whereas the perpetrator according to heavenly judgment was a murderer and would incur divine penalty.

A second peculiar regulation which has been preserved in an obsolete Mishnah passage pertaining to aberration of action should be mentioned here. The passage reads:

Sanh. 9,2. If one intended to kill an animal and killed a man, or a foreigner (נכרי) and killed an Israelite or a premature babe and killed a living babe, one is free (from the death punishment prescribed in the Pentateuch) . . . R. Simon (ben Yoḥai) said: also if one intended to kill *this one* and he killed *that one*, one is free. (This latter opinion is the accepted Halakha, i. e.

[21] The words פטור מדיני בשר ודם ודינו מסור לשמים are the stereotyped formula for crimes that can not be prosecuted by law, which, however, from a religious point of view, are just as condemnable as those that can be prosecuted by law. Cf. Mishnah B. K. 6, 4. Kid. 43a חייב בדיני שמים, with regard to the instigator of a homicide. Cf. Maim. Roṣeaḥ 2,2.

the prevailing Rabbinical law according to Maim. Roṣeaḥ 4,1).[22]

In the prevailing conception every aberration, even if it took place in relation to two brothers, causes an acquittal from the prescribed death penalty. According to the anonymous opinion, however, only such an aberration results in acquittal, if its objects were unlike in the eyes of criminal law. The text gives three examples (a) aberration between animal and man, (b) between foreigner and Israelite, and (c) between a babe that has vitality and one that is unable to live. In case (a) the original aim was at something that, in case of success, involved only material damage. In case (c) the doer would even without any aberration of action become a murderer. The difference is caused only be the norm that the killing of a human being that is unable to live would not justify the death punishment.[23] Similar is case

[22] Cf. Babli ibid. 79a ר' שמעון או' אפי' נתכוון להרוג את זה והרג את זה פטור The acquitting effect of the aberration of action is inferred from Deut. 19:11, ואורב לו וקם עליו. The case of זורק אבן לגו "If one throws a stone into a crowd" and kills someone is interpreted according to the anonymous Mishnah on the eventuality of תשעה ישראל ונכרי אחד. Compared with the Mishnah this case contains nothing new and explains itself from what follows.

It deserves to be mentioned here that our modern Law agrees on this point with the decision of Maimonides. "Legally interesting becomes this Chance in the case of the so-called aberratio ictus, the aberration, by which we understand that the doer's action is turned aside by Chance from the aimed at object to a different object, so that the result, intended with the former, appears in the latter. Supposing (cf. Carolina, art. 146) A shoots at B animo occidendi, but shoots C because he ran into the line of fire. Such a case must not, as some want, be decided on the basis, of the formula: if the hit object and the aimed at object are of equal weight for the crime in question, through the missing the guilt is not altered, which, in our example, would lead to a verdict against A for completed premeditated murder. Instead A can only be punished for the intended murder of B. For the killing of C since it occurred through Chance, he can not be charged." Birkmeyer, l.c., II 31-32.

[23] Not only a babe that is unable to live, but every human being upon whose body can be found a wound which can be proven to have been inflicted previously and which according to traditional opinion is considered fatal belongs to this category. Cf. Ḥull. 11b and alit. This principle of criminal law also finds its only explanation in the endeavor to diminish the possibilities of the death verdict. It hardly needs to be stated that the expressions פטור "free" and חייב "guilty" do not mean free or guilty simply, but free from the death punishment provided in the Bible or guilty of this punishment. Maimonides states this in the two following paragraphs: "And concerning all these

b). As we have already shown, the perpetrator is, according to Scripture, considered a murderer, one who has incurred divine punishment without regard to the victim's nationality. But since in relation to foreigners, the Mosaic legislation was never actually in practice but, instead, the well known institution of blood-feud or of peaceful settlement by paying an agreed sum of money, the case of the foreigner could also be used for the construction of theoretical possibilities that concerned an aberration which hit an object different, with regard to criminal law, from the intended object.

The general principle upon which this Mishnah has to be valued juridically is the endeavor to restrict death punishment to a minimum. The Talmud could not flatly annul the death penalty since a Pentateuchal law could not be abrogated; therefore the requirements pertaining to the giving of evidence and the proof of premeditation were made so severe that a death verdict was almost impossible. R. Tarfon and R. 'Akiba said: "If we would have been in the Synhedrium a man would never have been executed by it." (Makk. I end). A few lines before we read (ibid): "A Synhedrium that executes a person in seven years is called destructive. R. Eleazar ben 'Azarya says: One in seventy years." It was in accordance with this sentiment that they sought to define the meaning of aberration as strictly as

murderers and the like who (according to the strict law) are not condemned to death by the tribunal, the king of Israel possesses, if he desires to execute them in accordance with the law of the state or for the well-being of the world (for the sake of the salus publica), the power thereto; and in like manner, if the tribunal sees fit to execute them with consideration to present necessity and if the times demand it, they have the authority to do as they see fit." "If the king does not execute them and the time does not demand taking the matter so seriously, the tribunal is obliged at any rate to flog them so severely that they come near to death, to put them in prison and chains for many years and to afflict them in all manners in order to deter the rest of the wicked and to frighten them; otherwise it might become a stumbling-block and temptation to them, etc." Roseaḥ 2, 4-5. A similar passage also in Melakhim 3, 10, where the expression כל ההורג נפשות does not admit of any doubt that every human being is meant, irrespective of religion and nationality. This and the two previous paragraphs are characteristic for the reason that they concede to the public authority, in the spirit of the Jewish religion, the right to lay down regulations of criminal jurisprudence befitting the necessities of the times.

possible. Not only the aberration from the foreigner to the Israelite causes acquittal from the death verdict but even the aberration of a blow from a more to a less vital part of the body and vice versa.

As this passage is often misunderstood I should like to quote the continuation of the above Mishnah:

Sanh. 9,2. "If he (the perpetrator) intended to hit a person upon the loins and it (the blow) was not sufficient to kill him had it struck his loins and it fell upon his heart and was sufficient to kill him on his heart and he died, (he is free). If he intended to hit a person upon his heart and it was sufficient to kill him had it struck his heart and he hit him on his loins and it was not sufficient to kill him on his loins and he died (nevertheless), he is free. If he intended to hit a large person and it was not sufficient to kill the large person and it hit a small person and was sufficient to kill the small person, (he is free). If he intended to strike a small person and it was sufficient to kill a small person and it struck a large person and was not sufficient to kill the large person and (nevertheless) he died, he is free."

This circumstantial enumeration of the different possibilities shows to the trained jurist, at first glance, the object in view. The anonymous author desires, on the one hand, to maintain the principle that acquittal from death punishment is caused only by such an aberration that concerns two objects unlike in the eyes of criminal law. But, on the other hand, he displays no particular severity in estimating the requisite difference. Even two men of different size may be objects unlike according to criminal law. Nay, under certain circumstances, it may be even one and the same person if the aberration pertains to two different parts of the body that react in a different manner towards the blow. The main point is that the intended or resultant blow must not be found as necessarily fatal. R. Simon drops all theses subtle differences and acknowledges every aberration, even if the objects are entirely alike, as regards criminal law. Israelite or foreigner, normal or premature make no different as far as the aberration is concerned. This opinion is accepted also by the Codifiers as the prevailing one.

So much for the foreigner who only temporarily sojourns in

the land of Israel, without having severed the connection with his homeland. Characteristic of him is that he does not stand under the force of the laws of the host-country. He is not subject to a release year nor to the restricting regulations in regard to money transactions. As creditor he is allowed to take interest and he is at liberty to demand the payment of debts at any time. As debtor the same regulations are in effect concerning him. As regards legal protection, either conventions that are stipulated by contract are in effect concerning him, or folk-traditions that draw their validity and recognition from the force of habit. This international relation, as it were, goes back to older times; later we find only dark reminiscences relative to it. A hundred years before the destruction of the second Temple the נכרי offers an entirely altered picture. Palestine is being settled by an ever growing mass of pagan elements. Important non-Jewish communities arise that govern themselves. Add to that moreover the influence of Roman sovereignty that penetrated into the details of everyday life. The principles regulating the legal relations between Jew and non-Jew were almost entirely brought in from the outside. The activity that strove from within found a fruitful and successful field of work on religious and social ground. Instead of the foreigner the stranger, pure and simple, steps into the foreground whose peculiarity is not to be found in the politically or ethnically strange but in the difference of ethics and creed.[24] Judaism finds itself contrasted to

[24] In Talmudic literature the differences in the history of the law are not always clearly defined. Texts that belong to an older period have often been, without any criticism, transmitted to later times or interpretated as applying to later conditions. The texts concerning our question have, besides, suffered much from mediaeval censorship. The expressions עובדי, נכרים, גוים, אומות העולם, אדום עבודה זרה, אלילים etc., were partly omitted, partly replaced by כושי, כותי, עכו"ם etc. Only a deeper penetration into the text and a careful consideration of the textual as well as of the historical connections makes possible an objective and correct representation of the religious, legal and social factors that for the time being had decisive importance for the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. In this article we only desired to point out the oldest type of foreigner, the Biblical נכרי, the foreigner whose relation to the Israelite can not be determined from the internal life of the Israelites alone. The foreigner has rather his own political weight and his own conceptions of

heathenism and an irresistible stream of effects and counter-effects is set in motion. To enter more explicitly into the foundations of these effects and counter-effects is a problem that has only few points of contact with the original Biblical problem.

law which in intercourse with the Israelite stand out clearly. If one neglects the individuality of this older type then many, especially older texts, of the traditional literature lose their meaning; they are obscure, unintelligible, and this is even the more fortunate chance. It becomes worse, if one does violence to these texts and puts a false, or even adverse, construction upon them.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN OT

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INTRODUCTION

IN THIS TREATISE I propose to deal only with the musical instruments mentioned in OT. I do not intend to discuss the character of the music per se, nor the few Psalm headings which may refer to musical instruments (*e.g.* those of Ps 4; 6; 8), nor the use of the instruments, except where their use may help to identify them. I intend merely to review the past attempts at identifying the musical instruments, and to state my own opinions and preferences.

The identification of the musical instruments is of prime importance in any attempt to form a true estimate of the music of the Ancient Hebrews. For they, unlike the Greeks, have left us no notation of their music. Therefore we must first attempt to identify their instruments; then, having done so, we can begin to surmise what sort of music these instruments were capable of producing.

The subject is by no means a new one. Nearly every commentator on the Bible has dealt with it in some fashion or other. We may as the starting point begin with the work of Pfeiffer(1)[1] whose treatise gives a summary of the work of his predecessors, and who gives an extensive bibliography. Forkel(2) reviews the field more carefully than does Pfeiffer. The latter was primarily not a musician, but a philologist; and though he reviews the field carefully from this viewpoint and from the viewpoint of the archaeologist, he is often unreliable in his musical judgment. Forkel, on the other hand, had a thorough appreciation of music and never loses the musician's viewpoint in his discussions.

[1] A numeral in parenthesis following the name of an author refers to the order of his work in the bibliography.

His work may be considered an ample review, both of the various theories and of the bibliography. From Forkel down to approximately the middle of the next century no one, with the exception of Jahn(4), made any substantial contributions.

The sources of such an inquiry are, at best, very scant. OT offers hardly any information as to the character of the instruments. They are generally called כלי שיר in OT (*e.g.* Am **6**,5;[2] Neh **12**,36; 1 Ch **15**,16; **16**,42; 2 Ch **7**,6; **23**;13; **34**,12). In 2 Ch **5**,13; **23**,13 they are called כלי השיר; in 1 Ch **23**, 5 they are referred to simply as כלים; in 2 Ch **30**,21 they are alluded to as כלי עז.[3] In 2 Ch **29**, 26 they are referred to as כלי דויד.

In only five instances in OT do we have any indication of what materials musical instruments were made. In Nu **10**,2 we learn that the חצוצרה was made of hammered silver. The *shofar* is several times referred to as *šôpar ha-yyôbēl*, which shows that it was made of the horn of a ram. In 1 K **10**, 12 it is stated that *kinnor* and *nebel* were made of עצי האלגים; while in the similar passage in 2 Ch **9**,11 the wood is called עצי האלגומים (**G** ξύλα πεύκινα).[4] The expression כל עצי ברושים in 2 S **6**,5 is often taken to refer to musical instruments; but it is probably to be read בכל עז ובשירים (cf. the parallel passage in 1 Ch **13**,8). The cymbals (מצלתים) are in 1 Ch **15**,19 referred to as being made of brass (נחשת).

The only actual representations of musical instruments which the Hebrews themselves made are found on several coins. There is a representation of a pair of trumpets on the well-known Arch of Titus. Josephus has several references to Hebrew instruments. The Mishna and Talmud also discuss the character and use of several instruments, though in most cases the information they give us is of little account. Of course the

[2] Haupt (WZKM **23**,364) is of the opinion that we should read מְלֵי for כְּלֵי.

[3] Kautzsch (AT[4]) *ad loc* suggests *bᵉḳol ʿōz*; cf. 1 Ch **13**,8.

[4] Which of the two is the original form is difficult to tell. Albright (JEA **7**,83) takes the *algum* tree to be the *Acacia Arabica*. As for the word *algum*, he takes *al* to be the Arabic article, while **kum* (cf. Arab. *kamkâm*, gum, Gr. κύμμι and Latin *gummi*) has been lost (contrast GB[17], 43[a]).

Ancient Versions, particularly **G**, are of some use in making identifications and comparisons. The Church Fathers, too, have in a few instances recorded traditions of some value about the Hebrew instruments. Yet the material is far from abundant. This scantiness of material accounts for the general sterility of the early writers on the subject.

With the discoveries in Babylonia by Layard and Rawlinson, and in Egypt by Rossellini and Wilkinson, the sources became more ample. Not that any Hebrew instruments were discovered; but numerous representations, and some few specimens of Assyrian and Egyptian instruments were found, which could throw some light on the Hebrew instruments. These discoveries started new inquiries in the field of Hebrew music; and, with the exception of Gressmann (35), no one writing recently has failed to lay stress on the value of these Egyptian and Assyrian instruments for helping to determine the character of the instruments mentioned in OT.

The musical instruments to be dealt with may be divided into the three usual groups: (a) stringed instruments, (b) wind instruments, and (c) instruments of percussion. From our modern viewpoint the most important group would be the stringed instruments. Not so, however, from the viewpoint of the Orientals. Their music is still to-day, as it was in the past, largely rhythmical, rather than melodious and harmonious. No one can deny that they had melody; but rhythm played a more prominent part than melody or harmony. Their love for strong accentuation and rhythm is exemplified in ancient Hebrew Poetry, which was accentual; while the poetry of the Greeks, in contrast, was quantitative.

The instruments will be discussed in the order of the groups mentioned above. In general, the method of treating each instrument will be to give:

(a) material found in OT
(b) evidence of the Ancient Versions
(c) the remarks of Josephus
(d) the Talmudic material
(e) the evidence of the Church Fathers
(f) the conclusions of all investigators after Forkel

(g) my own conclusions
(h) a description of the instrument by comparisons with Egyptian, Assyrian, and occasionally with Greek instruments.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Although it is my purpose to identify several musical instruments in particular, and not to discuss the origin of musical instruments in general, it will not be amiss to discuss briefly the origin and development of some of them. To some extent such a discussion is conjectural; yet we find support for a good many conjectures by considering what is the case with some people who are still in a primitive state of civilization.

The prototype of all stringed instruments is undoubtedly the bow. Primitive man noticed that when he shot an arrow from his bow, the cord, because of its tension, gave forth a sound. Some savage tribes use the ordinary bow as musical instrument even to-day. H. Balfour, in the *Transactions of the British Academy for the Advancement of Science*, 1904, says (p. 693): "The native of Damaraland, who possesses no stringed instrument proper, is in the habit of temporarily converting his ordinary shooting bow into a musical instrument. For this purpose he ties a small thong loopwise round the bow and bow-string so as to divide the latter into two vibrating parts of unequal length. When lightly struck with a small stick the tense string emits a couple of notes."

To the simple bow with one string (cf. fig. 1, below) it was an easy matter to add additional strings. It was realized that a hollow resonator increased the volume of sound; therefore the bow was either allowed to rest on a hollow body or else was attached to one, as for instance, a hollow gourd. Here arises a complete harp, consisting of a string, frame, and resonator. Speaking of some African tribes, Balfour continues: "In order to increase the volume of sound, it is frequently the custom among some of the tribes to rest the bow against some hollow, resonant body, such as an inverted pot or hollow gourd. In

many parts, again, we find that the instrument has been further improved by attaching a gourd to the bow, and thus providing it with a permanent resonating body." From the gourd there developed a more elaborate resonator. In the case of the Egyptian harps it was generally at the bottom; in Assyrian harps, at the top. The gourd-shaped resonator may still be seen in the representations of some of the early Egyptian harps (cf. Wellhausen(32), p. 229, fig. *ee;* and cf. fig. 2 below).

The foregoing describes all the essential features of the ancient harps; further development was merely a matter of adding strings, increasing the size of the resonator, and elaborating the workmanship. The harps of this kind were of diverse sizes and shapes. Some were even carried on the shoulder, as can be seen in Wellhausen (32) *l.c.*, fig. *dd.*, no. 5. This was undoubtedly the prototype of the violin.

As the strings of the primitive harp were drawn tighter and tighter, the tendency of the two ends of the bow-shaped frame to spring apart was very strong. Hence it was found advisable to bind the two ends by means of a bar tied across them (cf. fig. 3 below). This gave rise to an instrument shaped like the lyre and cithara of the Greeks. Thus we see that instruments of both the harp and lyre type originate from a simple bow. In case of the harp, however, the direction of the strings was parallel to a line connecting the ends of the bow-shaped frame; while in the case of the lyre the strings run from the cross-bar down to the frame.

It should be borne in mind that all ancient harps differ in one important respect from the harps in use since the eighth century of the present era. Modern harps have the so-called *fore-pillar*, which serves to prevent the two ends of the frame from moving towards one another when the strings are tensed. None of the ancient harps possess the fore-pillar. We can well imagine that the Assyrian or Egyptian musician suffered considerable annoyance, for when he tightened one string of the harp, the frame would bend, thereby loosening the other strings. In the instruments of the lyre type this difficulty did not exist. This may account for the greater popularity of the lyre and cithara.

כנור

Kinnor, which appears in Arabic as كران, كنارة, and كنار, in Syriac as ܟܢܪܐ and ܟܢܪܐ, and as the loanword *knr* in Egyptian,[5] is the most frequently mentioned stringed instrument in OT, occurring 42 times. The account of its origin, as well as that of the *ugab*, is found in Gn **4**,21. Playing on the *kinnor* is called *niggēn* in 1 S **16**,23, ולקח דוד את הכנור ונגן בידו. This is interpreted by some as indicating that no plectrum was used to strike its strings. In Ps **71**,22; **98**,5; **147**,7; **149**,3, *zimmēr* is used of playing on the instrument. This has generally been taken to mean to 'sing with the kinnor as accompaniment,' or simply to *play* the *kinnor*. Haupt, however, has shown (AJSL **26**,2) that it means to *twitch* the strings (cf. GB[17], 201[a], זמר II). In 1 Ch **15**,28 *hišmîă'* is used in connection with both *kinnor* and *nebel*.

The music of the *kinnor* is referred to simply as *qôl* in Ez **26**,13; from the context we see that its music was of a joyful character. This is also shown in Ps **81**,3; **137**,2 and Job **21**,12; **30**,31.

The number of its strings is not definitely mentioned in OT. Graetz(24), p. 85, interprets כנור על השמינית in 1 Ch **15**,21 (**G** *κινύρα ἀμασενειθ*, **V** *cithara pro octava*) as well as שמינית in Ps **12**,1 as showing that it had, at least in some cases, eight strings.

It was used in the divine service (cf. 1 Ch **15**,16 and *passim*). In the Psalter David is often made to use it in praising JHVH. On the other hand, we find in Is **23**,16 reference to the *kinnor* of a harlot.

G translates it most frequently by *κιθάρα*, next in frequency by *κινύρα*, four times by *ψαλτήριον*, and once (Ps **137**, 2) by *ὄργανον*; in the six instances of its occurrence in the Prophets, by *κινύρα* in all cases but one (Ez **26**,13), where it has *κιθάρα*; also in the historical books by *κινύρα* in all cases but one (2 Ch **9**,11), where it has *κιθάρα*; whereas in the poetical books *κιθάρα* is used in all cases but three, where it has *ψαλτήριον*

[5] Cf. Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, Leipzig (1900), Part II, no. 990.

twice (Ps **49**,5; **149**,3) and *ὄργανον* once (Ps **137**,2). **S** has כִּנּרָא in all but five cases (Ps **98**,5[b]; 1 Ch **15**,28; **16**,5; **25**,1; 2 Ch **5**,12), where it is omitted. **V** has *cithara* in all cases but five: *lyra* twice (1 Ch **15**,16; **16**,5), *psalterium* twice (Ps **49**,5; **149**,3), and *organum* once (Ps **137**,2). **T**° has, in the two cases where *kinnor* occurs in the Pentateuch, כִּנּוֹרָא (Gn **4**,21), and חִנָּנָא (Gn **31**,27).[6] In Gn **4**,21 **T**° expands, inserting דְּמִמָּן עַל פּוּם נְבַלָא דִידְעִי זְמַר כִּנּוֹרָא. **T** has כִּנּרָא in all cases but five, where it has כִּנּוֹרָא (1 S **16**,23; **10**,5; **16**,16; Ps **98**,5[b]; Neh **12**,27).

As to the rendering of **G** it may be said that *κιθάρα* is Greek, while *κινύρα* is a Semitic loanword. The Greeks borrowed it from the Phenicians, hence u for ô (cf. Phenician *sufet* = Heb. שופט; see Schröder, p. 209).

The following table shows at a glance the rendering of the Ancient Versions, the numbers in parenthesis indicating the frequency of occurrence.

כנור (42)

G		S		V		T	
κιθάρα	(20)	כִּנּרָא	(37)	*cithara*	(37)	כִּנּרָא	(21)
κινύρα	(17)	omitted	(5)	*lyra*	(2)	כִּנּוֹרָא	(6)
ψαλτήριον	(4)			*psalterium*	(2)	חִנָּנָא	(1)
ὄργανον	(1)			*organum*	(1)		

Josephus (Ant **1**,3,2) agrees with Gn **4**,21 as to the origin of the musical instruments: "Jubal, who had the same mother as he (Jabal), practised music and invented the psaltery and cithara."[7] In Ant **7**,12,3 he says the following: "The nature of

[6] *Ḥingâ* means also dance, fair, etc.

[7] *Ἰούβαλος δέ, ὁμομήτριος δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μουσικὴν ἤσκησε καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησαν.*

the instruments is as follows: "The *kinyra* is an instrument provided with ten strings, struck with the plectrum. The *nabla* has twelve sounds and is plucked with the fingers. The cymbals were broad and large, made of brass."[8]

According to Rabbinic[9] sources the cithara[10] was played with the fingers; cf. Baraitha b Joma 38b: ומניח אצבעו בין הנימין, and he places his finger between the strings. It is, however, possible that the use of הקיש (lit. to *strike*) points to the use of the plectrum. Krauss(45), note 89 quotes Midrash Tehillim on Ps **137**,4 where it is stated in reference to Nebuchadnezzar: ותקישו לפני בכנורות שלכם, and you shall, in my presence, strike your citharas. Krauss(45), p. 86 states that the people at large may have played the *kinnor* with the plectrum; while the Levites, conservative in their adherence to the ancient custom, and perhaps also out of consideration for the Sabbath and holidays, used no plectrum.

The strings were made of sheeps' gut. This can be seen from M Kinnim **3**,6, where the following is stated of Abraham's ram: "When it (the ram) is alive, it has one sound (its natural voice); but when it is dead, it has seven. How do we get seven? Its two horns become two trumpets; its two legs, two flutes; its skin, a tambourine; its large intestine is for the harp; its small intestine for citharas."[11]

The number of strings may be seen from Arak 13b,[12] in commenting on M. Arak. **2**,6, where there is a confusion between the *nebel* and *kinnor*, and where it can be seen that *nebel* was supposed to have more strings: "R. Judah says: The cithara of the sanctuary had seven strings, according to the passage (Ps **17**,11),

[8] *ἡ δὲ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστιν ἰδέα τοιαύτη τις τὸν τρόπον. ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ. ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται, κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μέγαλα χάλκεα.*

[9] For a good deal of the Rabbinic material I am indebted to Krauss(45), whose work has been frequently consulted. The notes in Krauss refer to the notes on Chapter X.

[10] *Kinnor* will be translated cithara, and *nebel*, harp.

[11] כשהוא חי קולו אחד וכשהוא מת קולו שבעה כיצד קולו שבעה שתי קרניו שתי חצוצרות שתי שוקיו שני חלילין עורו לתף מעיו לנבל בני מעיו לכנורות.

Joyful abundance is before thy presence. Do not read שֹׂבַע (abundance), read שָׁבַע (seven). That of Messianic times will have eight, according to the passage (Ps **12**,1), *For the liturgy on Sheminith*, meaning on the eighth string. That of the world to come will have ten strings, according to the passage (Ps **92**,4), *upon the ten-stringed harp, with music on the cithara*, and the passage (Ps **33**,2), *Praise JHVH with the cithara, play for Him with the ten-stringed harp.* You might say, following R. Judah, that because in the world to come, on account of its greater number of strings, its sound will be as loud as that of the *nebel*, it will be called *nebel*."[13]

There are full instructions for what should be done if one of the strings broke; cf. M. Erub. **10**,13: "One may knot a string in the sanctuary, but not in the province (*i.e.* outside, in private use). But if it happened at the beginning (if the string broke before one started to play) it is forbidden in either case."[14]

The comment on this in Erub. 103a is more explicit: "A Levite on whose cithara a string is broken may knot it. R. Simeon says: He should splice it. R. Simeon b. Eliezer says: This does not allow the tone to come out clearly (*i.e.* when a string is fixed in the middle); but one should loosen the string at the bottom and wind it around the top, or loosen it at the top and wind it around the bottom."[15]

The use of the cithara in the sanctuary, and the number to be used is also referred to in M. Arak. **2**,5: "Not less than two trumpets should be used, and the number may be increased

[12] References to the Talmud are to Talmud Babli, unless J is prefixed, in which case Talmud Jerushalmi is meant.

[13] רבי יהודה אומר כנור של מקדש של שבעת נימין היה שנאמר שובע שמחות את פניך אל תיקרי שובע אלא שבע ושל ימות המשיח שמונה שנאמר למנצח על השמינית על נימא שמינית של עולם הבא עשר שנאמר עלי עשור ועלי נבל עלי הגיון בכנור ואומר הודו ליהוה בכנור בנבל עשור יזמרו לו שירו לו שיר חדש אפילו תימא רבי יהודה לעולם הבא איידי דנפשי נימין דידיה נפיש קליה כי נבל קרי ליה נבל.

[14] קושרין נימא במקדש אבל לא במדינה ואם בתחלה כאן וכאן אסור.

[15] בן לוי שנפסקה לו נימא בכנור קושרה ר' שמעון אומר ענבה רבי שמעון בן אלעזר אומר אף היא אינה משמעת את הקול אלא משלשל מלמטה וכורך מלמעלה או משלשל מלמעלה וכורך מלמטה. Cf. also J. Erub. 26c: נימא שבכנור שנפסקה וקשרה היא אינה משמעת את הקול אלא משלשל מלמעלן וכורך מלמטה.

ad libitum; not less than nine citharas, whose number may be increased *ad libitum*; but only one cymbal[16](*i.e.* pair of cymbals). In Sheb 15b it is stated: "A song of thanks is accompanied by citharas, harps and cymbals, in every corner and upon every large stone in Jerusalem."[17] In contrast, M. Arak. **2**,6, states: "They (the youths assisting the Levites) did not recite to the accompaniment of cithara and harp, but unaccompanied, so as to put spice in the melody."[18]

The Talmud has several anecdotes about David and his cithara. Ber. 3b says: "A cithara used to hang above David's bed; as soon as midnight approached, a north wind used to come and blow upon it, whereupon it played of itself."[19] The same story is found in Sanh 16a in almost the same words. Likewise in J Ber 2b the same is told, excepting that the cithara is in front of his window. Here we also find the following: "What did David use to do? R. Pinchas in the name R. Eliezer b. Menahem (said): He used to take the cithara and harp and put them at the head of the bed. At midnight he used to get up and play them."[20]

The case in which the cithara was kept is in M. Kel. **16**,7 called תיק כנורות (*θήκη*).

Finally the Talmud also tells of the connection between the word *kinnor* and the name Kinnereth (cf. GB[17], 354[a]). In Meg 6a we find: "Kinnereth is Genesar. Why is its name called Kinnereth? Because its fruits are sweet as the sound of the *kinnor*."[21] However, in J. Meg. 70a we find a different account of the name: "Kinnereth is Genesar. R. Levi objected: It is written (Jos **12**,3) And the plain extends to the sea of Kineroth (pl.). Does it follow from this that there were two places called

16 אין פוחתין משתי חצוצרות ומוסיפין עד עולם אין פוחתין מתשעה כנורות ומוסיפין עד לעולם והצלצל לבד.

17 שיר של תודה בכנורות ובנבלים ובצלצלים על כל פינה ופינה ועל כל אבן גדולה שבירושלים.

18 ולא היו אומרים בנבל וכנור אלא בפה כדי ליתן תבל בנעימה.

19 כנור היה תלוי למעלה ממטתו של דוד וכיון שהגיע חצות לילה בא רוח צפונית ונושבת בה ומנגן מאליו.

20 ומה היה דוד עושה ר' פינחס בשם ר' אלעזר בר' מנחם היה נוטל נבל וכינור ונותנו מראשותיו ועומד בחצי הלילה ומנגן בהם.

21 כנרת זו גינוסר ולמה נקרא שמו כינרת דמתיקו פירא כקלא דכינור

cf. Haupt OC 23,119; JAOS 43,121; PAPS 38,243.

Genesar? Or perhaps there were only two autonomous districts, as Beth-Yeraḥ and Sennabris, which produce lotus plants (or service trees)."[22]

The Church Fathers discuss the instruments, some of them at great length. Augustine, on Ps **42**,4 says: "Duo haec organa musicorum habent inter se distinctam discretamque rationem, dignam consideratione et commendatione memoriae. Utrumque hoc manibus portatur et tangitur, et significat opera quaedam nostra corporalia. Utramque bonum, si quis norit psallere, si quis norit citharizare. Sed quia psalterium istud organum dicitur, quod de superiore parte habet testudinem: illud scilicet tympanum et concavum lignum cui chorde innitentes resonant: cithara vero idipsum lignum cavum et sonorum ex inferiore parte habet."

On Ps **70**,23 he has: "Sed quid est psalterium? Organum lignum cum chordis. Quid significat? Interest quiquid inter ipsum et citharam: interesse dicunt qui norunt, eo quod concavum illud lignum cui chordae supertenduntur ut resonent, in superiore parte habet psalterium, cithara in inferiore." Commenting on Ps **150**,3 he says: "Jam quippe in alio psalmo exposuimus psalterium desuper habere sonorum illud lignum, cui nervorum series, ut meliorem sonum reddat, incumbit: quod lignum cithara inferius habet."

Jerome, on Ps **32**,2 says: "Cithara lignum illud concavum tanquam tympanum pendente testudine, cui ligno chordae innituntur, ut tactae resonent: non plectrum dico quo tanguntur, sed lignum illud dixi concavum cui superjacent, cui quodammodo incumbunt, ut ex illo cum tanguntur tremefactae, et ex illa concavitate sonum concipientes, magis canorae reddantur: hoc ergo lignum cithara in inferiore parte habet, psalterium in superiore. Haec est distinctio. Jubemur autem modo confiteri in cithara, et psallere in psalterio decem chordarum. Non dixit in cithara decem chordarum, neque in hoc psalmo, neque, si non fallor, alicubi. Legant, et considerent melius et otiosius filii nostri Lectores: tamen quantum mihi videor meminisse,

[22] כינרת גיניזרי התיב רבי לוי דהכתיב והערבה עד ים כנרות שני גוניסרות היו או לא היו אלא שני אבטוניות כגון בית ירח וציגבריי שהן מגדלות כנרים.

multis locis invenimus psalterium decem chordarum, cithara decem chordarum nusquam mihi lectum occurrit. Mementote citharam ex inferiore parte habere quo sonat, psalterium ex superiore." In Ps **33**,2 he again refers to the difference in position of the resonator: "Cithara deorsum habet cavamen, et sex chordis habet. . . . Psalterium desursum habet cavamen."

Isidorus, Orig. **3**,21,7 says: "Psalterium, quod vulgo canticum dicitur a psallendo nominatum, quod ad eius vocem chorus consonando respondeat. Est autem similitudine citharae barbaricae in modum △ literae, sed psalterii et citharae haec differentia est, quod psalterium lignum illud concavum, unde sonus redditur, superius habet et deorsum feriuntur chordae et desuper sonant. Cithara vero concavitatem ligni inferius habet." And in Orig. **3**,21,2 he further says: "Formae citharae initio similia fuisse traditur pectori humano, quod uti vox a pectore ex ipsa cantus ederetur, appellatamque eadem de causa. Nam pectus Dorica lingua kithara vocatur."

St. Chrysostom, on Ps 149 says that the psalterium is *moved* from above, and not from the bottom like the cithara: *καὶ γὰρ ἄνωθεν τὸ ὄργανον τοῦτο κινεῖται οὐ κάτωθεν ὅσπερ ἡ κιθάρα.* Whether this refers to the method of carrying the instruments, or to the moving (striking) of the strings is not evident.

Ibn Ezra, on Dan **3**,5 says: כנור דמות מנורה, the *kinnor* has the form of a candelabrum. He surely must have had in mind the lyre or cithara, either of which are so shaped.

Pfeiffer(1) takes the *kinnor* to resemble the lute or guitar. He is followed by Saalchütz(5), Schneider(6), Keil(11), Delitzsch (Isaiah,[4] Eng. Trans. p. 158), and Stainer(48). SH, Ambros(13), Hutchenson(16), Worman(21), Haupt (WZKM **23**,363) take it to have been harp-shaped.[23] It is regarded as a cithara or lyre by Engel(14), Keil(11), Kitto(19), Weiss(31), Wellhausen(32), Benzinger(37), and Millar(36). Ewald(12) thinks that it had strings of cat-gut.

[23] Prof. Haupt has suggested to me several etymologies of kinnor. One is that it may be connected with جرن *basin* the ǧ in the latter being due to partial assimilation (cf. AJSL **24**,151). The other is that it is from the root رن, *to moan*, etc. and is a transposition of רנך (cf. AJSL **32**,64).

For the form of the word, cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* §104, and contrast Barth §44c. As to its etymology, Pfeiffer(1) connects it with Persian-Arabic *kunnâr*, lute; Gressmann(35) connects it with the same word meaning lotus plant;[24] Jahn(4) identifies it with Syr. ܟܢܪܐ in the meaning of *cord*;[25] Gesenius (*Thes.* 698[a]) and Delitzsch *l.c.* take it to come from an onomatopoetic stem. For the connection between *kinnor* and *κινύρα*, cf. Lewy p. 164, Muss-Arnolt p. 127, and Chajes (OLZ **5**,352).[26]

One can see that the opinions are divided, roughly, into three groups: those that consider the *kinnor* a harp; those that consider it a lute or guitar; and those that consider it to be like the Greek *kithara*, which is represented in an early form on the tomb of Beni Hassan. I incline to the last opinion, for it seems to be better supported.

It is unlikely that **G** would translate by *κιθάρα*, the character of which was so definitely known, any instrument which was radically different. Now, if we can find on Semitic monuments instruments resembling the *κιθάρα* we may be reasonably sure that the *kinnor* resembled these instruments.

Furthermore, even though OT does not throw any light on whether the *kinnor* was played with the plectrum or not, Josephus states that it was played with the plectrum. Harps are never represented as being played with the plectrum; hence, on the basis of Josephus, *kinnor* could not mean harp. It will be shown below that *nebel* is a harp; hence *kinnor* would most likely be a different type of instrument. The Church Fathers all state

[24] Cf. Vullers, *Lexikon Persico-Latinum*, Bonn (1853-1864), Part 2, 891[a]: كنار, *fructus loti arbori.*

[25] There seems to be no such meaning for the word; cf. Smith, *Thes, Syr.* 1769 *s.v.*

[26] Bochart (*Phal. et Can.*[4], 808), in discussing Κινύρας, quotes Suidas: Κινύρας ὄνομα κύριον Θείαντος παῖς βασιλέως Κύπρου ζαπλοῦτυς ὃν φασιν ἀμιλλώμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὡς οἷα μουσικῆς τεχνίτην ἀπολωλέναι διὸ καὶ Κινύρας ἐκλήθη παρώνυμος τῇ κινύρᾳ. Bernhardy, however, deletes Θείαντος . . . . κινύρᾳ in his edition of Suidas (1853). As to κινύρα, Suidas says: κινύρα ὄργανον μουσικὸν ἢ κιθάρα ἀπὸ τὸ κινεῖν τὰ νεῦρα. Bochart, col. 728, brands this as ridiculous.

that the cithara had its resonator on the bottom; this is true of the instruments on the monuments that resemble the κιθάρα. Ibn Ezra states that the *kinnor* resembled a candelabrum; this surely reminds one of the cithara. On the basis of all this, we are safe in thinking that the *kinnor* had the general form of the lyre and cithara.

Of course this does not mean that the *kinnor* had exactly the same form at all times. It was surely subject to some development as time went on. Essentially, however, it had the shape represented in fig. 3.

The earliest representation of this type of instrument is well shown in Wellhausen(32), p. 224 *r*. This is an instrument of large dimensions and is provided with a large sound-body. It has eleven strings which are attached to a cross-bar at the top, and which at the bottom are drawn slightly over the sound-body. According to Wellhausen the instrument belongs to the prehistoric period; and this opinion is probably correct.

In a later and more refined development, it may be seen in the scene represented on the tomb of Beni Hassan, to which reference has been made several times. The scene is best reproduced in Riehm(25) facing p. 330. The instrument carried by one of the men in the party is essentially oblong in shape, with a large square opening at the front. The front is slightly narrower than the rest of the instrument. It is carried under the left arm; the right hand of the player is holding a plectrum, while the left hand seems to be twitching the strings. Perhaps the left hand is damping the sound of the strings. The number of strings drawn across the whole length of the instrument is eight or nine. There is some difference, in the various representations, of how the strings are drawn across the sounding board. Riehm gives it without any strings crossing the sounding board diagonally; but Wilkinson(7), who is generally followed, shows the strings diagonally as well as longitudinally crossing it. This, however, does not affect the character of the instrument. The date of the representation is not certain; it is, however, very early, and probably belongs to about the 20th century B. C. E.

This very instrument appears later in Egypt as the lyre. It is, of course, much more refined and developed in the later

representations. Wilkinson(7), p. 291, no. 217, and passim gives several illustrations of the Egyptian lyre, played both with and without the plectrum.

In a still later form than that of Beni Hassan the same instrument appears in a representation of some Semitic captives being guarded by an Assyrian warrior. This is well reproduced by Wellhausen(32) p. 225, fig. *t*. He proves that these are Semitic captives by comparing these figures with those represented on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. In this representation the side arms of the instrument are not parallel, as in the Egyptian, but are slightly divergent. The number of strings cannot be exactly determined. It was probably three or four. Nor can it be seen whether or not a plectrum was used. From the way the instruments are carried it cannot be seen whether they had a sound-board or not, but they probably did.

There are several more Assyrian representations of what seems to be the same instrument. The so-called Babylonian harp shown by Wellhausen(32) on p. 227, fig. *w*, seems to me to be the same sort of instrument, excepting that the cross-bar appears at the bottom. The Assyrian cittern, shown by him on p. 228, fig. *bb*, looks like an elaboration of the same instrument.

In a very late development the instrument is shown on a coin given, among others, by Madden, p. 206, no. 4. He assigns it to the time of the second revolt of the Jews (132-135 C.E.) under Barcocheba, at the time of Hadrian (117-138 C.E.). In this representation the Greek influence is seen in the vase-shaped bottom, which serves as the resonator. Madden gives several additional illustrations of coins showing the instrument.

These foregoing representations show conclusively that the instruments of the cithara and lyre type were quite common among Semitic peoples. It may appear that I am confusing lyre and cithara, but that is not the case. Essentially both *κιθάρα* and *λύρα* are of the shape represented in fig. 3. Their difference is one of proportions. The former is a much more massive instrument; its large arms are often hollow so as to reinforce the tone. Its resonator is of good size, and, aside from the cross-bar at the top, the frame seems to be made of one piece of material. It is often represented as being carried by

the performer by means of a strap suspended from the shoulder (BD, fig. 104).

The λύρα, on the other hand, is a much lighter instrument. Its resonator is often made of a tortoise shell. Exclusive of its cross-bar, its frame generally consisted of three pieces—two arms and a resonator. This is apparent from an illustration in DS, fig. 4700, where one can see the remains of a lyre from which the resonator at the bottom has fallen away; it consists merely of two curved arms.

Nor is the difference between them that the κιθάρα has the strings drawn partly across the resonator, while the λύρα has not. In BD, fig. 1603, are shown three lyres, whose strings are drawn over the resonator. Both the cithara and lyre are played with and without a plectrum. DS, fig. 4727 shows a picture of both a cithara and lyre together, where it may be seen that there is no essential difference between them, both having the shape indicated in fig. 3. Besides, there is a Greek tradition, which has it that no distinction between lyre and cithara was made before the time of Pindar.

Briefly, in view of the evidence of **G**, in view of the arguments mentioned above, and also in view of the fact that the Semitic monuments and coins portray instruments of the type of the Greek κιθάρα and λύρα, it is reasonable to conclude that the *kinnor* resembled these instruments.[27]

נבל

The *nebel* as a musical instrument occurs 27 times in OT. In Ps **71**,22 it is referred to as כלי נבל (**G** σκεύος ψαλμοῦ, **V** *vasum psalmi*), the plural of which expression is כלי נבלים in 1 Ch **16**,5 and כלי הנבלים in Ps **92**,4. In 1 Ch **15**,20 we find נבלים על עלמות (**G** νάβλαι ἐπὶ ἀλημωθ).[28] In Am **5**,25 its music

[27] The same instrument is mentioned four times in Dan **3**,5.7.10.15, where it appears as קיתרס (**Q** קתרס) and the variant קיתרס (cf. GB[17], 923[b]). **G** translates κιθάρα, **V** *cithara*, **S** קיתרא. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1215[a]) properly takes it as a loan word <κιθάρις and gives a good many instances where the termination -ις, -ης >וס in Hebrew and Syriac (cf. Krauss p. 193).

[28] Graetz(24) pp. 71,85 takes עַלָמוֹת of Ps **48**,1 and 1 Ch **15**,28 to refer to

is called זמרת נבלים; while in Is **14**,11 we find הֲמִית נבליך (**G** wrongly ἡ πολλή εὐφροσύνη σου). The expression פי הנבל (Am **6**,5) is taken by some to indicate that it had an opening in its resonator.

The number of its strings is referred to in several passages. In Ps **92**,4 we find עלי עָשור ועלי נֵבל (**G** ἐν δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλτηρίῳ);[29] in Ps **33**,2 and **144**,9, נבל עשור. This does not necessarily mean that the *nebel* always had ten strings, but that it did in some cases.

G translates it by νάβλα 14 times, but only in the historical books; by ψαλτήριον eight times; by ὄργανον twice (Am **5**,23; **6**,5); and by κιθάρα once (Ps **81**,3). For the other two cases of its occurrence, Is **14**,11 and Ps **71**,22, see above. **S** translates by קִיתָרָא. 13 times; by כִּנָּרָא four times, Is **14**,11; Am **5**,23; Ps **71**,22; **92**,4; by נְבָלָא twice, 1 Ch **13**,8; **15**,16. In 1 Ch **16**,5 it gives a different series of names than the Hebrew text and omits the word for *nebel*; likewise in 1 Ch **25**,1 it paraphrases and expands, omitting the word. In 1 Ch **15**,20 בנבלים על עלמות is rendered מְשַׁבְּחִין בְּתֻשְׁבְּחָתָא. In 2 Ch **20**,28 it is mistranslated תֻּשְׁבְּחָתָא. **S** omits six times, Neh **12**,17; 1 Ch **15**,28; **25**,8; 2 Ch **5**,12; **9**,11; **29**,25. **V** translates *nebel* by *psalterium* 17 times; by *nablium* three times, 1 Ch **15**,16; **16**,5; **20**,28; by *lyra* four times, 2 S **6**,5; 1 K **10**,12; Is **5**,12; Am **5**,23; by *cithara* once, Ps **81**,3. In Ps **71**,22 כלי נבל is translated *vasum psalmi*; and in Is **14**,11 הֲמִית נבליך is mistranslated *cadaver tua*. **T** has נְבָלָא ten times (pl. נְבָלַן, נְבָלָיָא), נֵבֶל twice, 2 S **6**,5 and Is **5**,12; כִּנָּרָא twice, Am **5**,23 and Ps **92**,4. In Is **14**,11 **T** incorrectly translates הֲמִית נבליך by תּוּשְׁבְּחַת זְמָרָךְ.

instruments coming from Elam. On the basis of **G** he considers עַל מוּת לַבֵּן (Ps **9**,1) = על עלמות נבל.

[29] It is possible that in this case we are dealing with two instruments, the *dechachord* and *nablium* (cf. Hieron. Psalter juxta Hebraeos: *in decharchordo et in psalterio*). To me the rendering of **G** seems preferable.

נבל (27)

G		S		V		T	
νάβλα	(14)	קִיתָרָא	(13)	*psalterium*	(17)	נְבָלָא	(10)
ψαλτήριον	(8)	כִּנָּרָא	(4)	*lyra*	(4)	נֵבֶל	(2)
ὄργανον	(2)	נְבָלָא	(2)	*nablium*	(3)	כִּנָּרָא	(2)
κιθάρα	(1)	omits	(6)	*cithara*	(1)		
mistranslates	(1)	mistr.	(2)	mistr.	(1)	mistr.	(1)
σκεῦος ψαλμοῦ כלי נבל=	(1)			*vasum psalmi* כלי נבל=	(1)		

Josephus' description of the *nabla* has already been referred to.

The Greek writers recognized that the *νάβλα* was a foreign instrument. That it is not a Greek word is also apparent from the uncertainty of the form in Greek. We find it variously written, as *νάβλα*, *νάβλιον*, *νάβλας* and later as *ναῦλας*, *ναῦλα*. Strabo 471 calls *νάβλας* (MSS *ναμβλας*) a barbarian name. Most of the information about it on the Greek side is found in Athenaeus (cf. Bochart, *Phal. et Can.*[4] 720 and Lewy p. 161). In 4,182[e] Athenaeus calls women who play the instrument *ναβλίσται*. In 4,175[c] where the passage is corrupt, he mentions *τοῦ Σιδωνίου νάβλας*, from which it would seem that it was either invented by or borrowed from the Phenicians. He also gives a description of the instrument, mentioning the lotus in connection with it. It is very difficult, however, to get anything definite from his description of it; one cannot tell whether he considers it a stringed instrument, or a wind instrument.

We have seen that according to Rabbinical tradition the *nebel* had more strings than the *kinnor*. Another statement of this fact seems to be found in J. Sukka 55[c]; here we are informed as to what its resonator was made of, and find an at-

tempt to etymologize the word: "The difference between *nebel* and *kinnor* is that one (*nebel*) has more strings than the other. R. Hijja b. Aba (said), Why was its name called *nebel*? Because it put to shame (excelled) many a musical instrument. R. Huna in the name of R. Joseph (said), Because of a skin that is not dressed and because of its many strings it put to shame many a musical instrument."[30] Here the word is taken to be connected with *nebel*, skin bottle.

We find a distinction between the harp of a female singer and the harp used by the Levites in the sanctuary. In M. Kel. **15**,6 we find: "The harps of the female singer are unclean (when they touch an unclean object); the harps of the Levites are clean."[31] Likewise in M. Kel. **24**,14 we find reference to the harps of the Levites. Just as in Biblical times the harp was used in conjunction with the cithara and the cymbals.

The number of harps used in the sanctuary is mentioned in M Arak **2**,3: "No fewer than two harps and no more than six should be used."[32]

The material of which the strings of the harp were made has already been referred to. The case in which the harp was kept is in M. Kel. **16**,7 called תיק נבלים.

The opinions of the Church Fathers on *psalterium*, by which *nebel* is generally translated in **V**, have been stated above. Briefly, they say that it is distinguished from the *cithara* by having its resonator at the top.

The *nebel* is considered the lyre by Pfeiffer(1), Forkel(2), Jahn(4), Worman(21), Cornill(42); the harp by Schneider(6), Saalschütz(10), Riehm(25), Delitzsch (Psalms[5], Eng. Trans. p. 24), Weiss(31), Prince(34). It is regarded as the lute (Eg.

[30] The translation is uncertain. The text has:
היא נבל היא כינור נימין יתרות בין זה לזה אמר רבי חייא בר (א)בא למה נקרא שמו נבל שהוא מלבין כמה מיני זמר ר' הונא בשם רב יוסף על ידי עור שאינו עבוד ועל ידי נימין יתירות היה מלבין כמה מיני זמר.
The first part of the passage may mean that *nebel* and *kinnor* are the same, except for the number of strings, of which *nebel* has more. Cf. Midrash Tehillim **81**,3 and Krauss(45), note 72.

[31] נבלי השרה טמאין ונבלי בני לוי טהורין.

[32] אין פוחתין משני נבלים ולא מוסיפין על ששה.

nfr) by Engel(14), Brugsch **3**, p. 758,[33] Haupt (WZKM **23**,363). Ewald(12) takes it to have had strings of hemp. Ambros(13) identifies it with the Assyrian dulcimer. Kitto(18) regards it as either the harp or lyre. Benzinger(37) includes both harp and lute under *nebel*. Stainer(47) takes it to have been a bow-shaped instrument. Idelsohn(48) regards it essentially as a wind instrument.[34]

The instrument is connected with *nebel*, skin bottle, by Gesenius (*Thes.* 844a), Worman(21), Graetz(24), Prince(34), Gressmann(35), Benzinger(37). For the connection between *nebel* and *νάβλα* cf. Lewy s. *νάβλα*, and Bochart (*Phal. et Can.*[4] col. 728).

My opinion is that the *nebel* represents the harp, or an instrument shaped like the harp. Having identified the *kinnor* as the cithara and lyre, I think that it would be strange if the harp, which was such a common instrument in the East, were unknown to the Hebrews.

That *nebel* is the harp is confirmed by Egyptian sources. Egyptian *bin.t*, harp, is the equivalent of נבל. As is well known Semitic *l* often becomes *i* in Egyptian (*e.g. ib* < *ỉb* < *lb* = לב, heart). In *bin.t*, the *t* is the feminine ending; hence *bin* <**bln* <**nbl* = נבל. That *bin.t* denotes harp is seen from the fact that the word is often written with the harp as determinative. This comparison should, I think, settle definitely that נבל is a harp, nothing else.

Regarding the opinion that the *nebel* had its resonator on the top, while the *kinnor* had it at the bottom—an opinion found in the Church Fathers and quoted by many—I would

[33] The meaning most recently assigned by Egyptologists to *nfr* is not *lute*, but *heart*; cf. Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 3rd edition (Berlin, 1911), p. 316, where it is rendered *Herz*; also H. Sotta and E. Drioton, *Introduction a L'Etude des Hiéroglyphes* (Paris, 1922), p. 22, *coeur suspendu par une artère*.

[34] His opinion is that the *nebel* '*alamoth* was, like the *nebel*, a skin bag, but that it had two parallel pipes. For '*alamoth* he compares Ass. *elamu*, opposite; it thus refers to the two pipes of the double flute. As to '*ălāmôt* > **ellamu*, we are not at all certain (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch*, 47b). Furthermore, the *nebel* could not have been a wind instrument; not once do the Ancient Versions so regard it.

say that such a distinction, as applied to the harp, seems to be secondary, having nothing to do with the essential character of the instrument. The Assyrian harp, for example, has its resonator at the top; the Egyptian harps, generally at the bottom; yet no one can deny that they are both the same type of instrument. They are both essentially bow-shaped, as may well be seen in the earliest Egyptian harp, with the strings running horizontally, as is roughly indicated in fig. 2. It is, of course, not always possible to recognize the shape of the bow in the later developments of the harp; yet the bow was the prototype of them all.

Furthermore Josephus states that the *nabla* was played without a plectrum, with the fingers only; this lends itself well to the harp, for never do we find a harp played with the plectrum. Some may object to quoting the statement of Josephus on the ground that it applies only to what was the case in his own time. In reply it is to be said that the general development of stringed instruments is that they were played at first without the plectrum, and only later was the plectrum added. Now if Josephus, writing late, says the *nabla* was played without a plectrum, we cannot conclude that this was a later custom, for that would be contrary to the development just stated. We are, therefore, not unsafe in assuming that the *nebel* was always played without the plectrum.

It also seems that the common rendering of *nebel* found in G points to its being a harp. G in most cases translates merely by *νάβλα*. This leads me to think that G considered the *nebel* an instrument which was either of extra-Greek origin, or was little known among the Greeks. Now the harp seems not to have been common among them. In fact, there is to my knowledge no Greek word that could be in general applied to the harp. Among all the representations of Greek instruments I can find only one of a harp being played. BD, fig. 1608 shows a harp being played together with two lyres. It has its resonator on top and has 16 strings. It would seem, therefore, that the harp was uncommon among the Greeks, and that by translating by the loanword *νάβλα* G had the harp in mind.

I would not, however, limit the *nebel* to a harp of any de-

finite size or number of strings. It should be considered a general word for instruments of the harp type.

It now remains to describe some of the Assyrian and Egyptian harps, for we have no representations of the Hebrew harp, as we have of the cithara. At the outset it should be stated that these harps differ in form from our harps in that one side, the one turned away from the player, does not have a post, the so-called *fore-pillar*, as part of its frame, but has the strings exposed. It seems to me possible that in the expression פי הנבל Am 6,5 we have a reference to the open side of the harp.[35] Our modern harps, on the other hand, have the strings enclosed on all sides, and possess the fore-pillar.

The representations of the Assyrian harps are by no means as numerous and varied as those of the Egyptian harps. The best representation of the Assyrian harp is shown by Wellhausen(32), p. 225, fig. *v*, taken from the representation of the procession in honor of Assurbanipal, fig. *u*. Seven of these harps are represented in the procession. The instrument is, roughly, triangular in shape with 20 strings and with a slightly curved resonator, which covers the upper ends of the strings. The resonator at the top has several holes in its side, noted only by Wellhausen. He suggests that these holes served to increase the volume of sound produced. Below these holes can be seen round projections to which the strings seem to be attached. Wellhausen suggests that these may have been pegs for tuning the strings, but we are not sure that ancient instruments were tuned with pegs. Below, the strings are attached to a horizontal cross-bar, while the ends of the strings hang down quite a bit below the bar.

I do not intend to give a complete description of all the Egyptian harps, which are far more numerous than those of the Assyrians, and of which we have some specimens preserved. I shall merely attempt to give an account of the Egyptian harp in its development from a simple bow into its most elaborate forms. Let it be understood, however, that the development which will be traced may not be strictly chronological.

[35] Contrast Haupt (WZKM **23**,363) and Nowack(30).

The earliest Egyptian harp, as regards form, is well illustrated by Wellhausen(32), p. 229, fig. *ee*. Here the bow-like shape of the instrument is clearly seen. There are two strings fastened to the top (not by means of pegs as Wellhausen states). At the bottom the resonating body is of extremely slight proportions. From this illustration it can be readily seen that the earliest form of the harp was a bow; later, a resonator, which probably at first was merely a gourd, was added. This instrument is being played in a kneeling position, with its top resting on the shoulder of the performer. As the instrument developed more strings were added. Wilkinson(7), p. 239, fig. 193, 1 shows such a harp, in which the bow-form is clearly visible, and which has seven strings. A still further development is shown in the two harps represented by Wilkinson fig. 192, 2 and 3. Both of these harps have seven strings; but unlike the harp previously mentioned, they have pegs, which are very clearly represented. One of the harps is played by a male, the other by a female, both in a kneeling position.

Later, a support was attached to the resonator of the harp, at the bottom. Wilkinson(7), p. 234, fig. 185, 1 and fig. 186, 1 illustrates two such harps. The former has eight strings, the latter, seven.

More elaborate are the harps in which the resonator was greatly enlarged, and in playing which the performer stood upright. The rest of the instrument was also proportionally enlarged and adorned. The most beautiful harps are represented by Wellhausen(32), frontispiece, facing p. xii. The performers, who are priests, are standing upright. One of the harps has 11 strings, the other 13. The resonators at the bottom are beautifully adorned, and each has the figure of a god on it.

Besides these harps, which are not portable, there are a good many varieties of portable harps. My reason for not having included them in the description of the larger harps is that it cannot be determined at which point in the development they make their appearance. They certainly do not antedate the bow-shaped harp of two strings; and when they are triangular in shape, I think that they are rather late.

A few of them may be mentioned. Wilkinson(7), p. 275,

fig. 208, 2 illustrates a harp about two feet high, which, though easily capable of being carried, is shown supported upon a sort of taboret. It is ornamented at the top, and no part of the frame in particular stands out as the resonator. Similar in shape but with 20 strings, is the harp shown by Wellhausen(32) p. 230, fig. *ff*. Here the strings are not, at the bottom, attached to the frame of the instrument, but are attached to a round bar, without any pegs. It is possible that this bar could be turned so as to regulate the tension of the strings.

There is also a curious kind of harp illustrated by Wellhausen fig. *ii*. This same harp is by him represented on p. 229, *dd* as being carried on the shoulder. Wellhausen quite aptly calls it half lute, half harp. It differs from the lute, however, in that its strings are arranged one above the other, while in the lute they are one at the side of each other. Besides, one can still detect the bow shape of the original harp; whereas in the lute one cannot. Wellhausen also illustrates (p. 230, fig. *kk*) a harp from Zanzibar, which closely resembles the lute-shaped harp of the Egyptians. From the lute-shaped harp it was not a very great step to the lute. I shall not, however, describe the lute, for I am not including it under *nebel*.

פסנטרין

This instrument is mentioned, in connection with the many others, four times in Dan 3,5.7.10.15, where it is written respectively פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, פְּסַנְטֵרִין and פְּסַנְתְּרִין (bis). **G** has *ψαλτήριον*, **V** *psalterium*, and **S** כִּנָּרָא.

Saadia, to Dan 3,5 states that it is the equivalent of nebel.[36]

This instrument, as well as the *ψαλτήριον* to which it is equivalent, has been variously identified. Pfeiffer(1) and Weiss (31) take it to refer either to the *nebel* or to the *kinnor*; Jahn(4) on the basis of Suidas' explanation,[37] considers it the equivalent

[36] Although this commentary goes by the name of Saadia, it was not written by Saadia Gaon, but by another Saadia of the 12th century (cf. *Jewish Encyc.* Vol. 10, 580[b]).

[37] Suidas says: *ψαλτήριον ὄργανον μουσικὸν ὅπερ καὶ νάβλα καλεῖται.* Gesenius (*Thes.* 1116a) gives several old etymologies for *pesanterin*.

of *nebel*; Millar(36) *et al.* take it as the harp. Stainer(48) regards it as the Assyrian dulcimer.

It is impossible to decide definitely what sort of an instrument the *pesanterin* really was. It cannot be denied that it is a loanword from the Greek and is identical with the Greek ψαλτήριον. The difficulty lies in determining what the Greek instrument was. It is possible that the *pesanterin* was somewhat like the Assyrian dulcimer. In order to assume this we must argue through the medium of the Arabic *santir*, as will be seen. Arabic *santir* is generally taken to be a corruption of Greek ψαλτήριον. Now since *pesanterin* is identical with ψαλτήριον, it is possible that it is the same as the *santir*. The Assyrian dulcimer, of all ancient instruments, most closely resembles the *santir*. Therefore it may be assumed that the *pesanterin* is the same as the dulcimer.[38] I think that the argument is too subtle (cf. Wellhausen(32), p. 227, fig. 10).

The Assyrian dulcimer is a stringed instrument, with a slightly depressed bottom, over which its ten strings are drawn. The strings are represented as attached at the end to a bar which runs lengthwise; this bar should run crosswise, but the Assyrian artist, because of his incomplete knowledge of perspective, could not so represent it. Likewise the artist endeavoured to indicate the bridge of the instrument by arching the strings. It would, of course, have been impossible for the strings to stand arched of their own accord. The player strikes the strings with a short rod.

The Arabic *santir*, as well as the *qanun*, resemble the Assyrian dulcimer, not in all details, but in their general shape. The *santir* is of wood, about two feet long and one foot wide. The sounding board has several holes, which are generally cov-

[38] By some such equation.

פסנטרין = ψαλτήριον
سنطير = ψαλτήριον
Therefore פסנטרין = سنطير
Furthermore سنطير = Assyrian dulcimer
Therefore פסנטרין = Assyrian dulcimer

The equation is by no means certain.

ered with some sort of skin. The strings are drawn over a bridge and are struck with the plectrum. They are of metal, whereas the strings of all ancient instruments were of gut or twine. The *qanun* is like the *santir*, excepting that that while the latter has one side cut off obliquely, the former has two sides so cut off, and thus its front has the appearance of a triangle with its apex cut off.[39]

What the ψαλτήριον was is not at all clear.[40] Th. Reinach, who is probably one of the chief authorities on Greek music, has a brief discussion of the possibilities in DS s. *psalterion*. He quotes a phrase from Aristotle,[41] on the basis of which he thinks that *psalterion* might be considered identical with the small *trigonon*, rather than the name of a whole class of stringed instruments. There are, however, no definite conclusions in the matter.

Yet **G** often has ψαλτήριον for *nebel*; and Suidas has ψαλτήριον equal to νάβλα. Hence, I think it possible that since *nebel* is the harp, the *pesanterin* may also be an instrument of the harp type.

שבכא

The שַׂבְּכָא (not סבכא, of Baer ad Dan **3**,5) is mentioned four times, in Dan **3**,5.7.10.15. **G** translates σαμβύκη, **V** *sambuca*, **S** omits. On the Greek side we have the testimony of Strabo 471, who states that is a "barbaric" word. Athenaeus 175[d] calls it a Syrian invention. In 633[f] he states that it has four strings, while in 637[b] he assigns its invention to a certain Sambyx. In 634[a] he mentions an instrument of siege called σαμβύκη because

[39] These descriptions were communicated to me by a native Arab.

[40] On the basis of a statement of Varro, some have taken the *psalterium* to be an instrument standing upright. Nonius s. *dicteria* quotes Varro, *neque orthopsaltium adtulit psalterium quibus sonant in Graecis dicteria*. Riehm(25) and others read *orthopsallium*, and think that it means *standing upright*. The word is very uncertain, and has been read also *orthopsalticum* (ὀρθοψαλτικός high-pitched?). The text is too corrupt to base anything on.

[41] Problemata **19**,23 (perhaps Pseudo-Aristotle): ἐν τοῖς τριγωνίοις ψαλτηρίοις.

it resembled the musical instrument; when raised it had the appearance of a ship and ladder joined together.

Isidorus (*Orig.* **3**,22,7) says: *Sambuca in musico species est symphoniarum. Est enim genus ligni fractilis, unde et tibiae componuntur.* Saadia (ad Dan **3**,5) identifies it with the *ugab* (cf. below).

Engel(14) considers it a sort of guitar. Kitto(18) regards it as a species of harp or lyre. Worman(21), on the basis of the statements of Athenaeus, thinks that it was a triangular instrument, and that it might also have represented the Assyrian dulcimer. Riehm(25), referring to Athenaeus, states that among the Egyptians we find an instrument which seems to resembles a ship and ladder joined together. This may represent the *sabbeka*.

For the form of the word and its etymology, cf. Gesenius (*Thes.* 935[a]), Lewy, p. 161, Růžička KD 110; and Gressmann (35). On the etymological side the chief problem is to determine whether the Greek σαμβύκη is a loanword from the Hebrew or vice versa.

It seems most likely that the former is the case. The difficulty lies in identifying the Greek instrument. BD is not certain as to what the *sambuke* represented; while Reinach in DS, fig. 4730, illustrates an instrument which may be called σαμβύκη *si l'on veut.* This is a seven-stringed instrument, too oblong in shape to be considered a harp, which is being played in a seated position. BD calls the same instrument, which it illustrates in fig. 1609, the *psalteria.* So we see that the matter is very uncertain.

מנים

מְנִים, which occurs once in Ps **150**,3 (**G** χόρδαι, **V** *chordae*, **S** ܡܢܐ **T** incorrectly חללין) is not the name of an instrument but means strings (cf. Syriac ܡܢܐ *hair, cord*). As to using *strings* for stringed instruments, we may compare our use of *strings* referring to the violin family. Graetz(24), p. 700, states

that *minnim* is a transposition of Talm. נימין, strings, and refers to a sort of violin. This is impossible for נימין, sing. נימא < *νῆμα*.[42]

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Omitting for the present the various kinds of horns, which in their ancient forms were hardly musical instruments, at least not in our sense of the word, we will discuss those wind instruments which could be used for musical effects. Of this group the most important was the *ḥalil*.

חליל

This instrument is mentioned but six times in OT. It is found in connection with Saul's meeting the prophets, 1 S **10**,5; in Is **5**,12 of the wine bibbers; of one who comes rejoicing before JHVH in Is **30**,29; of the procession which attended the anointing of Solomon in 1 K **1**,40. In Jer **48**,36[a] the prophet compares the moaning of his heart for the people of Moab and Kir-ḥeres to the sound of the flute. In 1 K **1**,40 we find the denominative verb חלל.

G translates by *αὐλός* in all cases but one, 1 K **1**,40, where it has, for the plural, *ἐν χόροις* = במחולות. **S** omits once, Jer **48**,3b, and mistranslates the other five times: פְּלַגְּא, *tambourine* in 1 S **10**,5 and 1 S **5**,12; רְבִיעָא, *timbrel* in 1 K **1**,40; הַדוּתָא in Is **30**,29; and כְּנָרָא in Jer **48**,36[a]. **V** translates everywhere by *tibia*. **T** has correctly אֲבוּבָא in Is **5**,12; **30**,29; צֲלָצִלִין 1 S **10**,5; חֲנָנָא 1 K **1**,40; כִּינּוֹרָא Jer **48**,36[a]; and זמר אֲבוּבִין Jer **48**,36[b].

The Talmud in speaking of the flute uses אבוב more frequently than חליל. M. Bikk. **2**,3 speaks of the flute of the festal procession: "The flute was played before them until they came near to Jerusalem" (contrast Jastrow s. חליל); furthermore it adds: "The flute was played before them until they approached the Temple hill."[43]

[42] Cf. AJP **43**,248.

[43] החליל מָכה לפניהם עד שמגיעין קרוב לירושלם and החליל מכה לפניהם עד שמגיעין קרוב להר הבית.

The use of the flute in the sanctuary is again mentioned in M. Sukka **5**,1: "The flute was played on five and six days respectively. This is the flute of the feast of water-drawing which supercedes neither the laws of the Sabbath nor of the festivals."[44] Obadiah in commenting on this passage says as follows: "Many kinds of musical instruments were there, but because the sound of the flute was more audible than the rest, all of them are called by its name."[45]

M. Arak. **2**,3 tells of the number of flutes used, of the occasion when it was used, and also that there were flutes both of metal and reed; "No fewer than two flutes nor more than twelve should be used. On twelve days in the year was the flute played before the altar: at the regular Passover sacrifice, at the additional Passover sacrifice (cf. Nu **8**,10ff), on the first day of Passover, at Pentecost, and on the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles. They did not play on a flute of bronze but on a flute of reed, because its sound is sweet. They ended off (the music) only with a single flute, because it ends off smoothly."[46]

In commenting on this passage Arak. 11b identifies חליל with אבוב and gives an etymology for *ḫalil*: "Why does the passage use *ḫalil* in the beginning and *abub* in the end? R. Pappa said: "*Ḫalil* and *abub* are the same. Why is it called *ḫalil*? Because its sound is sweet (*halî*)."[47]

The Levites, as we thus see, used only flutes of reed in the sanctuary. This was probably due, as Krauss(45) p. 90 shows, to their conservatism. They would use none other than those made of the original reed.

The flute was used also at weddings and funerals. In M.

44 החליל חמשה ושׁשה זהו החליל לבית השואבה שאינה דוחה לא את השבת ולא את היום טוב.

45 הרבה מיני זמר היו שם ועל שם שחליל קולו נשמע יותר מן האחרים נקראין כולם על שמו.

46 אין פוחתין משני חלילין ולא מוסיפין על שנים עשר ובשנים עשר יום בשנה החליל מכה לפני המזבח בשחיטת פסח ראשון ובשחיטת פסח שני וביום טוב ראשון של פסח וביום טוב של עצרת ובשמונה ימי החג ולא היה מכה באבוב של נחשת אלא באבוב של קנה מפני שקולו ערב ולא היה מחליק אלא באבוב יחידי מפני שהוא מחליק יפה.

47 וכן פתח בחליל ומסיים באבוב א"ר פפא היינו חליל היינו אביב ואמאי קרי ליה חליל דחלי קליה.

B. Mez. **6**,1 we find the phrases חלילים לכלה או למת; while in M Keth **4**,4 we read: "Even the poorest in Israel should have at least two flutes and a female mourner."[48]

In Sukka 50b we find an allusion to the flute's being the instrument of the nobleman: "A flute is a musical instrument for nobles; give it to weavers and they will not have it."[49]

Finally we find the following story of the flute in Arak. 10^b: "There was a flute in the sanctuary, which was smooth, made of reed, and dated from the times of Moses. At the king's command it was overlaid with gold, but its sound was no longer sweet. They removed the overlay and its sound became sweet as it was before."[50] The same story is repeated in somewhat briefer form in J. Sukka 55^c.

The case in which the flute was kept is called תיק חלילין in M. Kel. **16**,8.

There has been hardly any doubt, even to the earlier investigators, that the *ḫalil* was the flute. Some have taken it to represent the double flute as well as the single flute, *e.g.* Pfeiffer(1), Jahn(4), *et al.* Stainer(48) thinks that it represented the oboe.

Ḫalil cannot come from the stem חול, حول *to dance*, but must come from חלל, خل, cf. Ass. *xalxallatu* and *xalâlu*.[51] It means, literally, *bored through*, *perforata*. I take it that this epithet refers, not to the holes which were bored in the pipe in order to increase the range of the instrument, but rather from its referring to the hollow character of the reed of which it was made.

There is hardly any doubt that it signifies flute. By flute, one must understand something quite different from our flute. In our flute, as it is commonly made, there is a hole near the end, across which the performer blows; this instrument is therefore aptly called the transverse flute. This is not the case with the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian flutes, as far as can be determined.

48 אפילו עני שבישראל לא יפחות משני חלילין ומקוננת.

49 אבוב לחרי זמר לגרדאי לא מקבלוה.

50 אבוב היה במקדש חלק היה דק היה של קנה היה ומימות משה היה צוה המלך וציפהו זהב ולא היה קולו ערב נטלו את צפויו והיה קולו ערב כמות שהיה.

[51]Cf. Eg. *ḫ*^{3}, lotus; Eth. *xellat*, reed; cf. also Meissner in ZA **17**,242 and Krauss(45).

Either they were blown straight into the end, like our modern clarinet, or they were blown across the end. The tone was not as mellow as that of our flute; it must have sounded more "reedy," like the clarinet and the Oriental flutes of today.

I think that *ḫalil* was a general word for flutes, including both single and double, as well as oblique and direct flutes. Among the Egyptians the single flute was at first the commonest; at a later period, however, it seems to have been almost entirely displaced by the double flute. Sachs(50), p. 21, fig. 12, shows eight long single flutes, from the Turin Museum. These may have been either direct of transverse flutes; one cannot tell, from the mere representation of the instruments, how they were blown. The flutes in this group have generally five holes, thus being capable of producing six tones. Wilkinson(7) p. 316, fig. 229, nos. 3 and 5 shows two long flutes that are blown across the end. One is about two feet long, the other about three. No holes can be seen in the representation of these two flutes; but, from the position of the hands of the players, one would think that they had holes bored in them. On p. 307, fig. 225, he represents a transverse flute, which is unusually long. On p. 233, fig. 184, no. 6 he represents a direct flute, about two feet long. Here again the number of holes in the instrument is not clear; but judging from the position of the player's hands, there may have been eight. There are, of course, a good many more illustrations of flutes, but, aside from their length, they do not differ from the few mentioned.

Among the double flutes, too, one may differentiate two kinds. One form does not have the two tubes united together, excepting possibly at the mouthpiece; the other form has the two pipes bound together its whole length. An Egyptian flute of the second form is illustrated by Sachs(50), p. 17, fig. 12, from the Berlin Museum. Sachs rightly calls it the double clarinet. The two pipes have each four holes, and are of the same length. On p. 22, fig. 15, he represents a double flute of the first form, which does not have the pipes bound together. One cannot tell how many holes this particular flute had. Many other illustrations of double flutes are found in Wilkinson(7), none of which, however, differ from those already described.

The Assyrians, too, used the flute quite commonly. I can find no representations of their single flute; but they have a word for it (*malîlu*). In the well-known representation of the Assyrian band two persons, one a man, the other a woman, are seen playing the double flute. Both of the flutes are of the same size, which is much shorter than the Egyptian flutes. A larger illustration of the woman playing this flute is given by Wellhausen(32), p. 219, fig *d*.

Among the Greeks and Romans, particularly the former, the flute was very common. BD gives many representations of Greek flutes, particularly of double flutes. Besides the direct flute, the Greeks had the flute blown across the end, like some of the Egyptian transverse flutes, and also flutes blown exactly like our modern transverse flutes. Some of the flutes have holes bored into the stalk, while others have projections, to vary the sound. The Greeks carried the development of the flute farther than the Egyptians did.

עוגב

The *ugab* is mentioned four times in OT. In Gn **4**,21 it appears (**G** notwithstanding) to be a general name for wind instruments. In Ps **150**,4 it is used in the worhsip of JHVH. In Job **21**,12 its sound is called simply *qôl* and the context shows its music to have been of a joyful character. The same is shown from the context in Job **30**,31,

In Gn **4**,21; Ps **150**,4; and Job **21**,12; **30**,31 **G** has respectively *κιθάρα*, *ὄργανον* and *ψαλμός* (bis). **S** has respectively מְנָא חַלְיָתָא, כִּנָּרָא (sweet sounding strings) and זַמָּרָא. **V** has in all cases *organum*. **T** has, more accurately than the other versions, אַבוּבָא.

The Talmud has a statement, undoubtedly erroneous, that the *ugab* is the hydraulic organ. In J. Sukka 55c we find: "*Ugab* is the water-organ. R. Simeon b. Gamliel taught: There was no hydraulic organ in Jerusalem, because it spoils the music."[52] ארדבלס is, of course, a corruption of הדרולס = אדרולס = *ὕδραυλις*.

52 עוגב זה ארדבלס חנו רבנן שמעון בן גמליאל לא היה ארדבלי' בירושלים מפני שהוא סורח את הנעימה.

Krauss(45), p. 91 gives a simple diagram of the hydraulic organ, which was used in those days.

Ibn Ezra to Dan 3,5 says עוגב מגזרת תענבנה, *i.e.* its stem is ענב, to love. Kimchi (ed. Biesenthal-Lebrecht) 250[b] defines it simply as כלי מכלי הנגון, a musical instrument. Gesenius (*Thes.* 988[b]) gives a different version of Kimchi's definition, כלי מכלי חניגין *instrumentum e fistularum genere.*

Ugab has been taken as the Pan's pipe by Pfeiffer(1), Forkel(2), Jahn(4), Engel(14), Kitto(18), and Worman(21); and as the bagpipe by Winer(9) and Cornill(42). Pfeiffer(1) and Weiss(31) take it to be connected with an Arabic stem *'ajaba*, to blow. But that there is such a stem with this meaning is merely a matter of conjecture.[53] As to the form of the word, cf. Stade, Lehrbuch 215[b] and Barth §45.[54]

It is impossible to identify the *ugab* with any certainty. If it is from the stem ענב, to love, hence an instrument which arouses to ecstacy, it may be the flute. Krauss(45), p. 88, for instance, states that the flute was not originally used in the Temple service because of the ease with which it aroused to ecstacy.

We must remember, however, that **T** has always translated *ugab* by אבובא and that in all of the cases where *ugab* is found, a wind instrument suits the context. Hence it may be a term for wind instruments.

משרוקיתא

The *mashroqita* is mentioned in Dn 3,5.7.10.11. **G** translates by *σύριγξ*, **V** *fistula*; **S** מְשַׁרוֹקִיתָא.[55]

This is considered a Pan's pipe by Pfeiffer(1) and Forkel(2); a flute by Worman(21); a double flute by Ambros(13); and the

[53] Cf. Prince(34), col. 3229, note 6; also Millar(36), col. 461[b].

[54] The form *qutâl* is frequent in Assyrian, e.g. *qurâdu*, warrior; *xurâçu*, gold. It may be the prototype of the diminutive فعيل (cf. JBL 34,74; ZDMG 64, 704).

[55] מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא lit. *sound of a pipe*; מַשְׁרוֹקָא means *pipe*; cf. שָׁרִיק *hollow*, which may be a Shafel of ריק.

equivalent of the *ugab* by Jahn(4). For its etymology, cf. Derenbourg, p. 238 and Barth §168c.

Although it is difficult to tell whether *syrinx* comes from a Semitic stem, or vice versa, it is most likely that *syrinx* is a Semitic loan word. Even if *mashrogita* and *syrinx* are not connected there is no doubt as to what instrument we are here dealing with. The rendering of the Versions shows that the syrinx was meant; while on the Semitic side, too, the etymology from *šaraq* may very well point to the Pan's pipe, because of its reedy tone.

The syrinx is mentioned in Homer Il. **10**,13; **18**,526 as the shepherd's flute. It is supposed originally to have had seven reeds or pipes. This was not always the case later, for we find the number as high as thirteen. In some cases the pipes or reeds are bound by a cord, while in others they are inserted in a sort of box, which keeps them together. Generally the reeds vary in length, but occasionally we find syrinxes the length of whose reeds is uniform. The method of blowing also varies. It usually was blown into at the top, like our modern mouth-organ, but occasionally it was blown across the top, like the flute.[56]

סומפניה

This instrument is mentioned in Dn **3**,5.10.15. In **3**,5 it is written סוּמְפֹנְיָה; in **3**,10 סִיפוֹנְיָא (Q סוּמְפוֹנְיָא); in **3**,15 סוּמְפוֹנְיָה. **G** has *συμφωνία*, **V** *symphonia*, **S** צְפוֹנְיָא. In **3**,7 the Versions insert the word, which has fallen out of MT.

Polybius **28**,10,5 and **31**,4,8 mentions the *συμφωνία* in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes. It seems here not to be a concord of sounds, but to refer to a musical instrument.

According to M. Kel. **11**,6 the symphonia seems to refer to the double flute: "As to the *symphonia* and the flute, if they are entirely of metal they are unclean; but if they are only overlaid with metal they are clean. If a *symphonia* has a receptacle for

[56] For an account of the syrinx, cf. DS *s.v.*; cf. also BD, figs. 167, 168; note also the account of the Pan's pipe in Ovid, *Met.* **1**,690ff and Vergil, *Ecl.* **2**,32.

receiving the wings (the two pipes of the double flute) it is unclean in either case."[57]

Krauss(45), p. 90 and note 95 gives a description which is taken from several Tosephtas. According to him the *symphonia* had, at the mouthpiece, a depression where the pipes were joined to one another, while farther down the pipes diverged. The mouthpiece was often made of a different piece from the pipes, and was set over them.

The case in which the symphonia was kept when not in use is called the M Kel **16**,8 תיק סמפוניה.

Isidorus (*Orig.* **3**,14) says: *Symphonia vulgo lignum appellatur cavum ex utraque parte pelle extenta, quam virgulis hinc et inde musici feriunt fitque in ea ex concordia gravis et acuti suavissimus cantus.*

Saadia, on Dan **3**,5, says: הוא שמשמיעין בו את הרועין כמין נוד תפוח ודונמתו לבית הסמפונות, It is that (instrument) which the shepherds sound, a sort of inflated skin and resembles a lung where the bronchial tubes enter it.

Du Cange s. *symphonia* gives several citations showing that the word, at least in later times, referred to a musical instrument. Among others, one sees that it has been taken as referring to *tibia* and *tuba*.

It is generally taken to be equivalent to the Greek *συμφωνία*. Forkel(2) who quotes SH (cf. Ugolini, *Thes.* 32, p. 39-42) takes it to be the bagpipe. Likewise do Gesenius (*Thes.* 941[b]), Engel(14)[58] Barry (JBL **23**,180-190; **27**,99-127; *The Monist* **19**,459-461).[59] Saalschütz(10) considers it to have been the double flute. Jahn(4) considers it a reed pipe or flute.

There can be no doubt, especially after the numerous citations given by Barry, that the ancients knew the bagpipe; that its name was *συμφωνία* is, however, not so clear. Yet

[57] סומפוניה וחליל של מתכת טמאין ומצופין טהורים סימפוניה אם יש בה בית קבול כנפים בין כך וכך טמאה.

[58] Engel describes a representation of an instrument found in Tarsus (p. 298, fig. 93). He takes it to be a bagpipe. The image is badly mutilated, but one can make out the faint outlines of an instrument which looks like a Pan's pipe, provided with some sort of bellows.

[59] Contrast Moore, JBL **24**,166-175.

because of Saadia's explanation (cf. above), and of the tradition found in SH, I believe it quite likely that the *symphonia* referred to the bagpipe.

שׁוֹפָר

We shall now discuss the various horns, which are not, as has been stated before, very important from the musical point of view. Of these the one most frequently mentioned in OT is the שופר (cf. Ar. شبور and سوافر, *ram's horns*, GB[17], 815[b]).

The *shofar* is mentioned 72 times in OT. That it was made of the horn of a ram is seen from its being referred to as שופר היובל four times, Jos **6**,4.6.8.13. This expression is rendered as follows in the Versions: **G** omits in Jos **6**,4.6.13 and translates the word by ἱερός in Jos **6**,8;[60] **V** has *jubileo*; **T** has correctly rendered the expression as שׁוֹפָרָא דְּקַרְנָן דִּכְרֵיָא.

In OT we find no case of the *shofar* being used as a musical instrument. On account of its ability to produce a loud sound, it is used chiefly as a signal-horn, either to summon the people together, or else to warn them of some danger. In 2 S **6**,15 we find it being used in the procession accompanying the Ark. The loudness of its sound can be seen from the expression כשופר הרם קולך in Is **58**,1. In 1 Ch **15**,28 and 2 Ch **15**,14 it is mentioned together with the *ḥaçoçera*; and in a good many other instances (cf. Büchler ZAW **19**,102f).

Although we find the expression שופר תרועה in Lev **25**,9 and תרועה (stem רוע; cf. GB,[17] 751b) often used in connection with blowing the *shofar*, we do not find the verb הריע used in OT of blowing it; תקע lit. *to strike* is used (cf. Ar. ضرب بالبوق, German *Trompetenstoss*, and our *hit out a tone*). We find תקע בשופר *e.g.* Jos **6**,4; Jud **3**,27; or simply תקע שופר e.g. Jud **7**,12; Is **18**,23. In Lev **25**,9 העביר is used in connection with blowing the *shofar*.

The sound of the *shofar* is referred to simply as קול. In

[60] The text of **G** in these passages varies considerably from **MT**; cf. *The Old Testament in Greek*, ed. Brook and McLean, Cambridge (1907), notes on p. 691-2.

Ex **19**,6f and Jos **6**,5 קול השופר refers to the subterranean rumblings of an earthquake (cf. Haupt in WZKM **23**,355 ff).

G translates by *σάλπιγξ* 42 times; by *κερατίνη* 25 times; and omits once, Jos **6**,13. In four passages it is incorrectly translated. In Jos **6**,8 **G** has, for ותקעו בשפרות *καὶ σημαινέτωσαν εὐτόνως*; in Jos **6**,9 it has, for תקעו השופרות (**Q** תקעי), *οὐραγόντες*; in Hos **8**,1 for אל חכך שופר it has *εἰς κόλπον αὐτῶν*;[61] and in 1 Ch **15**,28 it merely transliterates it *σωφέρ*.

S translates by קַרְנָא 37 times (pl. קַרְנָתָא and three times, Jos **6**,6,8; Jud **7**,22 קַרְנָן); by שִׁיפוּרָא 31 times; and omits it twice, Jud **7**,19; Job **39**,25. In 1 Ch **15**,28, for בקול שופר ובחצוצרות it has בְּקָלָא קַרְנָתָא פְּשִׁיטָתָא וְכַפְּיָתָא; and in 2 Ch **15**,14, where the order is בחצוצרות ובשופרות it has קַרְנָתָא כְּפִיָתָא וּפְשִׁיטָתָא. It thus appears, at least in these two cases, that **S** considered the *shofar* a straight horn.

V translates by *buccina* 38 times, *tuba* 29 times, and omits four times, in Lev **25**,9[b]; Jos **6**,5.6.20[b]. In one case (Ps **98**,6), where *shofar* is to be distinguished from *ḥaçoçera*, **V** translates *tuba cornea*. **T** has קַרְנָא three times, Jer **4**,19.21; **6**,1 and in all other cases שׁוֹפָרָא (though occasionally it is pointed שׁוֹפָרָא, *e.g.* Lev **25**,9[b] and Job **39**,25).

Following is the table of the renderings of the Versions:

שׁוֹפָר (72)

G		S		V		T	
σάλπιγξ	(42)	קַרְנָא	(37)	*buccina*	(38)	שׁוֹפָרָא	(63)
κερατίνη	(25)	שִׁיפוּרָא	(31)	*tuba*	(29)	קַרְנָא	(3)
mistranslates	(4)	קַרְנָא פְּשִׁיטָא	(2)	*tuba cornea*	(1)		
omits	(1)	omits	(2)	omits	(4)	omits	(1)

[61] Cf. Sellin, *Zwölf-Propheten Buch* (1922), p. 64f; contrast Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* II, p. 117.

In discussing the Rabbinic material I shall not separate *qeren*, *shofar* and *ḥaçoçera* because of their intimate connection, but shall treat them all together.

M. Kel. 11,7 gives a good bit of information about the *qeren*: "A bent horn is unclean, while a straight one is clean. If it has a mouthpiece of metal, it is unclean. As to its bell, R. Tarphon considers it unclean, while the sages consider it clean. If they are joined together, it is all unclean."[62] Thus we learn that the *qeren* was made either straight or bent, that it was made of different parts put together, and that its mouthpiece and shaft could each be made of different material.

From this description the Mishna appears to be referring to horns made of metal, not to natural horns, but Obadiah in commenting thereon says: "Horns of natural horn are made in parts joined to one another; but the shape of some is curved, while that of others is straight. Joining together the parts of a curved horn is more difficult and requires more skill than joining the parts of a straight one."[63]

M. R.H. 3,2 discusses the relation between *shofar* and *qeren*: "All horns are fit for use, except neat horns, because they are called *qeren*. R. Jose said: Are not all the horns called *qeren* as in the passage (Jos 6,5) *when a blast is blown in the ram's horn*."[64] The comment on this passage, in R.H. 26a, is not very clear, and contains several opinions; one, that neat horns are called only *qeren*, not *shofar*; another, that the horns of an ox are called *shofar*; and another, where *shofar* is taken to be connected with שפיר, beautiful.

There are also instances of the comparison and confusion of *shofar* and *ḥaçoçera*. Sota 43a states: וחצוצרות התרועה אלו השופרות, alarm-trumpets are *shofars*. In Shabb. 36a we find: "Just as one may carry about a *shofar*, so may one carry about the *ḥaçoçera*. Whence do we know that *shofar* and *ḥaçoçera* are

62 קרן ענולה טמאה ופשוטה טהורה אם היתה מצופית שלה של מתכת טמאה הקב שלה רבי טרפון מטמא וחכמים מטהרין ובשעת חבורן הכל טמא.

63 חצוצרות מקרני הבהמות עשויות פרקים פרקים מחוברים אלא שאחת מהם צורת ענולה ואחרת פשוטה וחבור הפרקים של ענולה קשים וצריכין אומן יותר מחבור הפרקים של פשוטה.

64 כל השופרות כשרין חוץ משל פרה שהוא קרן אמר רבי יוסי והלא כל השופרות נקראו קרן שנאמר במשך בקרן היובל.

the same? From R. Ḥisda, for he said: The following three groups of words are changed in meaning after the destruction of the temple. What was formerly called *ḥaçoçera* was called *shofar*, and what was formerly called *shofar* became *ḥaçoçera.*"[65] Similar statements are found in R.H. 36a and Sukka 34a.

As to יובל (ram) R.H. 26[a] says: יבלא is the same as דכרא (ram). R. Akiba said: When I went to Arabia they used to call a ram יבלא."[66]

Most of the information on the use of horns is found in M. R.H. In 3,5 we find: "The *shofar* for the New Year is made of the horn of the ibex, is straight, and its mouth is overlaid with gold. Two *ḥaçoçerot* are at either side. The sound of the *shofar* is sustained, while that of the *ḥaçoçerot* is shortened, because the order of the day requires the *shofar*."[67] For fast days 3,4 says: "On fast days horns of rams are used; they are bent, and their mouths are overlaid with silver. Two *ḥaçoçerot* are in the middle. The sound of the *shofar* is shortened, while that of the *ḥaçoçerot* is prolonged, for the order of the day requires the *ḥaçoçera*."[68] M. R.H. 3,5 states: "The jubilee is like the New Year in respect to the blasts on the horn and in respect to the blessings. R. Judah says: On New Years ram's horns are blown, on jubilees, ibex's horns."[69]

Most of the details about the *shofar* are found in M. R.H. 3,6 and the comment thereon in R.H. 27[b]. Here we learn that a broken *shofar*, if properly repaired, may be used; that one *shofar* may be put inside the other and, provided the sound of the inner one is heard, the combination is satisfactory; that the

65 כשם שמטלטלין את השופר כך מטלטלין את חצוצרות... ומאי שופר נמי חצוצרות כדרב חסדא דא"ר חסדא הני תלת מילי אישתני שמייהו מכי חרב בית המקדש חצוצרתא שופרא חצוצרתא למאי נ"מ לשופר של ראש השנה.

66 יבלא לשנא דדכרא הוא דתניא אמר רבי עקיבא כשהלכתי לערביא היו קורין לדכרא יבלא.

67 שופר של ראש השנה של יעל פשוט ופיו מצופה זהב ושתי חצוצרות מן הצדדין שופר מאריך וחצוצרות מקצרות שמצות היום בשופר.

68 בתעניות של זכרים כפופין ופיהם כסף ושתי חצוצרות באמצע שופר מקצר וחצוצרות מאריכות שמצות היום בחצוצרות.

69 שוה היובל לראש השנה לתקיעה ולברכות רבי יהודה אומר בראש השנה תוקעין בשל זכרים וביובלות בשל יעלים.

natural horn may be scraped; and changed in shape; and the socket in which the horn naturally sits may be bored through and left on the horn. Minute details for regulating the blasts and their order are also given.

Further uses of the *shofar* mentioned in the Talmud are: for excommunication, Shabb 36[a]; to announce a death, MQ 27[b]; to announce the new moon, Nidda 38[a]; to announce the beginning of the Sabbath, AZ 70[a]. The phrase התוקע לשיר in RH 37[a] may show that the shofar could also produce a melody (contrast Rashi *ad loc.*, who reads שר, demon, and thinks that the *shofar* is used to drive away evil spirits). Finally M Sukka **5**,4 describes at length the procession which took place on the Feast of Tabernacles.

Jerome, on Hos **5**,8 says: *Buccina pastoralis est et cornu recurve efficitur, unde et proprie hebraice Sophar, Graece κερατίνη appellatur.*

With few exceptions, all have taken the *shofar* to be the ram's horn. Schneider(6) and Engel(14) regard it as having been made of metal, at least in some cases; Riehm(25) thinks that it may have been made of metal in later times; while Kitto(18) believes that it may have referred to neat horns as well as to ram's horns.

That the *shofar* denoted a ram's horn is perfectly evident both from the etymology of the word, as well as from its survival down to the present day. The word is, of course, connected with Ass. *šapparu*, ram.[70] That it was a ram's horn is borne out also by the expression *shofar ha-yyôbel*, where *yobel* means ram.

The form of the *shofar* is too well known to require description.[71] It is not, clear, however, whether the *shofar* of Biblical times was straightened and flattened by being heated, as is the

[70] The form arises thus: *šappar* > *šôpār šôpar*; כוכב < *kakkabu*, and Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 125; for the earlier etymologies, cf. Gesenius (*Thes.*) 1469b.

[71] For numerous illustrations of the *shofar*, cf. Cyrus Adler, "The Shofar," in the *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1892*, pp. 437-450.

case with the *shofar* of today, or whether it retained the natural shape of the ram's horn. Most likely the latter was the case.

חצוצרה

The חֲצוֹצְרָה (pl חֲצוֹצְרוֹת) is mentioned 29 times in OT.[72] The singular occurs but once, Hos **5**,8. The directions given to Moses for making the two *ḥaçoçeroth* are found in Num **10**,2f. There we learn that they were to be made of silver, which was to be hammered or beaten, מקשה (**G** ἔλατος, **V** *ductilis*).

The *ḥaçoçera* was often used for sounding an alarm, *e.g.* Num **31**,6; note also the expression חצוצרות התרועה. Most frequently, however, it was used in connection with the service, or in religious celebrations, *e.g.* Ps **98**,6; 2 Ch **5**,12; **13**,14.

G translates it by *σάλπιγξ* in 27 cases, never by *κερατίνη*, thus showing that it was not considered as made of natural horn. **G** omits the word in 2 Ch. **5**,13. In Hos **5**,8 for תקעו שופר בגבעה חצוצרה ברמה **G** has *Σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγι ἐπὶ τσὺς βουνούς, ἠχήσατε ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν.*

S translates by קַרְנָא 15 times and omits 5 times, 2 Ch **5**, 12.13; **13**,8.12.14. In 2 Ch **15**,14.28 it wrongly adds כְּפִיפְתָא to the translation of the plural, taking it as a bent horn. In 2 Ch **20**, 28; **23**,13[b]; **29**,26.28 the plural is rendered by a conflate reading קַרְנָתָא כְּפִיפְתָא וּפְשִׁיטְתָא. In 1 Ch **16**,42 where the whole passage is paraphrased, expanded, and given a negative interpretation it has וְלָא בְּקַרְנָתָא כְּפִיפְתָא וְאַפְלָא בַּפְשִׁיטְתָא. In Ex **3**,10 **S** misunderstands it as a ram's horn, קַרְנָא דְדִכְרָא while in 2 Ch **29**,27 it mistranslates by אִיד דְמָן פּוּקָא.

V has simply tuba 27 times. In Ps **98**,6 where it is to be distinguished from *shofar*, it is rendered *tuba ductilis*. In 2 Ch **5**,13 **V** mistranslates the whole passage, but includes the word *tuba*. **T** translates 11 times by חֲצוֹצְרְתָא (pl. חֲצוֹצְרָתָא and חֲצוֹצְרִן).

[72] The denominative verb חצר is found in six passages: 1 Ch **15**,24; 2 Ch **5**,12.13; **7**,6; **13**,14; **29**,28.

חצוצרה (29)

G	S	V	T
σάλπιγξ (27)	קֶרֶן (15)	*tuba* (27)	חֲצוֹצְרָה (11)
omits (1)	omits (5)	omits (1)	
mistranslates (1)	mistranslates (4)	*tuba ductilis* (1)	
	conflate readings (5)		

Josephus (Ant. **3**,12,6) says of the *ḥaçoçera*: "He (Moses) invented also the form of the trumpet, made of silver. It is as follows: Its length was a little less than a cubit; it was a narrow tube slightly thicker than a flute, having sufficient breadth at the mouth for the admission of the breath, ending in a bell like (common) trumpets. It was called *asosra* in Hebrew."[73]

Jerome, on Hos **5**,8, describes the tuba (*ḥaçoçera*) as follows: *Tuba autem de aere efficitur vel argento, qua in bellis et solemnitatibus concrepabant.*

This is considered by almost all as a metal horn, *e.g.* Pfeiffer (1), Jahn(4), Schneider(6), Weiss(31), Wellhausen(32), Gressmann(35) *et al.* Its etymology is not certain, cf. Gesenius (*Thes.* 513[a]); Stade §124; Brockelmann VGr **I**,247; König **I**, 284; GK[28],55e; GB[17], 253[a]; Gressmann(35); and Růžička KD 15f.

Although the etymology of the word is not certain,[74] there can be no doubt about the character of the *ḥaçoçera*. The Bible expressly states (Nu **10**,2) that it was made of beaten silver.

[73] Εὗρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον ἐξ ὀρίγου πσιησάμενος, ἔστι δὲ τσιαύτη: μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγῳ λεῖπον, στενὴ δ' ἔστι. σῦριγξ αὐλοῦ βραχεῖ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὖρος ἀρκοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κώδωνα. ταὶς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοὺντα. ασωσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

[74] Haupt suggests that it may come from a stem חצר which may be a transposed doublet of צרח صرخ *to cry*.

Besides, we have two actual representations, one on several coins given, among others, by Madden, p. 206f; and that on the Arch of Titus. Furthermore, that the *ḥaçoçera* was always of metal is shown by **G**, which never translates it *κερατίνη*, but always *σάλπιγξ*.

The *ḥaçoçerot* represented on the Arch of Titus are comparatively long with their ends but slightly bell-shaped. The mouthpiece is hidden, so that we cannot see whether they had slight bulgings, as the trumpets shown on the coins have. On the coins the trumpets appear to be shorter and thicker; the bulgings near the mouthpiece are clearly visible, and the ends are clearly bell-shaped.

Both the Egyptians and Assyrians possessed horns of this type. Sachs(50), p. 21, fig. 12 shows a trumpet of the New Kingdom. The instrument seems to be about 30 inches long, and its end is distinctly bell-shaped. Wilkinson(7), p. 261, fig. 199, no. 1, shows a trumpet of slightly different shape. It is much shorter, and widens suddenly into a bell at the end. Excepting for the cone-shaped bell, this horn is wider in the middle than elsewhere. Wellhausen(32), p. 221, fig. *i*, shows an Egyptian horn which is quite different from either of these two. It resembles a bottle, cut in half longitudinally. Worman(21), s. *ḥaçoçera*, illustrates two Assyrian trumpets. They closely resemble those on the Arch of Titus.

קרן

The *qeren*, which appears in Dan **3**,5.7.10.15 as קַרְנָא, needs very little discussion. It is a general word for any kind of horn. That it included ram's horns is evident from Jos **6**,5; that it included neat horns is evident from p. 58 above; and that it referred also to horns of metal is shown on p. 58 and 61 above.

INSTRUMENTS OF PERCUSSION

The most common instrument of percussion is the *tof* (Ar. دف, Spanish *aduffe*), which occurs 15 times in OT.[75] It is men-

[75] מְלֹאכֶת תֻּפֶּיךָ, Ez 28,13 does not refer to a musical instrument, (**V** *opus decoris tui*); nor is a musical instrument referred to in Jer **31**,4 עוֹד תִּעָרֶי תֻּפַּיִךְ (**S** תִּצְטַבְּתִין בְּחַצְבִיתָא).

tioned in connection with Saul's meeting the prophets, 1 S **10**. 15, and with Miriam and her maidens when they do their dance of joy, Ex **15**,20. In these cases and in several others, it is mentioned together with other instruments; *e.g.* Is **5**,12; 2 S **6**,5 and elsewhere. The joyful character of its sound is referred to in Is **24**,8 as משוש תפים. When David and his procession make merry before the Ark of JHVH, the *tof* is mentioned (2 S **6**,5; 1 Ch **13**,8). It is also mentioned as being used in the service of JHVH, Ps **81**,3; **149**,3; **150**,4.[76]

G translates *tof* by *τύμπανον* in all cases but one, Job **21**,32, where it incorrectly has *ψαλτήριον*. **V** renders by *tympanum*. **S** has רְבִיעָא in Is **5**,12; Ps **149**, 3; 1 Ch **13**,8, and in all other cases, פְּלָגְנָא. **T** incorrectly translates by קִתְרוֹס in Is **5**,12, while otherwise it has תּוּפָּא (pl. תּוּפִּין, תּוּפְיָא).

Isidorus (*Orig.* **3**,21,10) says the following: *Tympanum est pellis vel corium ligno ex una parte extentum. Est enim pars media symphoniae in similitudinem cribri. Tympanum artem dictum quod medium est.*

It is taken for a drum or tambourine by nearly all investigators, *e.g.* Pfeiffer(1), Forkel(2), Jahn(4), Engel(14), Worman(21) *et al.* For its etymology, cf. Jensen KB **6**,1,433; Lewy, p. 166; and Gressmann(35).[77]

Tof is most likely a general name for drums, and included tambourines as well. Instruments like the drum and tambourine were much more common in the ancient Orient, where rhythm was the chief characteristic of the music, than they are today among us. In fact, Oriental music is still characterized by the dominant influence of rhythm.

The Egyptians and Assyrians, particularly the former, had many varieties of drums and tambourines, both round and oblong. Wellhausen(32), p. 232, fig. *pp.* shows a representation

[76] The denominative verb תפף, *to beat* is found in Ps **68**,26 and Neh **2**,5, in the former case referring to beating the drum, in the latter case, the breast.

[77] It may be a Sumerian loanword; cf. דַּפָּא, *board, tablet* < Sumerian *dup, tup* (cf. Delitzsch, *Sumerische Glossar*, 145); cf. also Eg. *dpt*, oar, ship.

of some women dancing with tambourines in their hands. From the proportions, the tambourines seem to be about the same size as ours. Wilkinson(7), p. 240, fig. 198, no. 4, shows a circular tambourine of slightly larger dimensions. It consists of a circular hoop over which a skin is tightly drawn. It is, from the representations, difficult to tell whether the frame was covered on both sides with skin, or only on one. He thinks (p. 315) that on account of the Egyptian manner of holding the tambourine vertically after it had been struck it may have had metal rings inserted in the rim, as our modern tambourines have.

There is also the square, or more correctly, the oblong tambourine, which is best represented by Sachs(50), p. 19, fig. 9. Here two of them are shown, one slightly more rectangular in shape than the other. These are held and struck in the same manner as the round tambourines. They do not seem to have been common among the Egyptians, probably on acocunt of their inconvenient size and shape.

Besides these tambourines, the Egyptians had also several varieties of drums. One variety, which look as though it were originally made of a gourd, is shown by Sachs(50) *l.c.* The tapering end is held in the left hand, while the face is struck with the right. Another form is shown by Engel(14) p. 218, figs. 60 and 61. It is about two feet long, is covered with skin at both ends, and, like the modern drum, is braced with cords. It is suspended by a strap from the performer's shoulders and is struck with both hands. There is also a large drum, almost like our bass drum, of which an actual specimen has been found. It is shown by Wilkinson(7), p. 270, fig. 204. Excepting for its bulging out in the middle, it looks like our drum. Both at the top and bottom a string of gut, which is wound around cords for bracing the drum, encircles it. By moving the two strips of gut towards each other, the cords are tightened, and thus the skin is stretched. This drum was beaten with two slightly bent drumsticks.

The Assyrian representations of tambourines and drums are not as numerous as the Egyptian. Yet we have tambourines and several kinds of drums. Wellhausen(32), p. 232, fig. *qq*, shows an Assyrian quartet, in which the figure farthest on

the left is playing the tambourine. It is being held upright, like the Egyptian tambourines mentioned.

No representations of the gourd-shaped drum, such as the Egyptians had, have been found among the Assyrians. They have several varieties, which seem to be covered with skin only on one end. Wellhausen(32), p. 233, fig. *v*, shows a woman carrying a drum, which appears to be about nine inches high. It is attached either to a belt she is wearing, or to a strap hanging from her shoulder. On the side that is visible, the drum has four circular projections, which may have been holes for increasing the resonance of the instrument. It is struck with both hands. Engel(14), p. 64, fig. 19, shows a figure of a woman, carrying a drum about eighteen inches high. This drum, too, has the four projections on the visible side. It is not cylindrical, but rather cone-shaped; how it is supported is not clear. It is struck with both hands.

The Arabic *duff* is a small tambourine about five inches in diameter. It has three or four sets of metal rings in its rim, and is re-enforced at the back by several gut strings. These strings reverberate when the skin is struck, and serve to increase the volume of sound.

מצלתים, צלצלים

The צֶלְצָלִים are mentioned three times in OT. In 2 S **6**,5 they are found in the procession of David and his people before the Ark (**G** incorrectly *αὐλοί*, **V** *cymbala*, **S** ציצלא, **T** צֶלְצָלִין). In Ps **150**,5[a] is found the phrase צלצלי שָׁמַע[78] (**G** *κύμβαλα εὐηχα*, **V** *cymbala bene sonanta*, **S** צְצַלֵי שְׁמָעָא, **T** צִלְצָלוֹן דְּשָׁמְעִין). In Ps **150**,5[a] occurs צלצלי תרועה (**G** *κύμβαλα ἀλαλαγμοῦ*, **V** *cymbala jubilationis*, **S** incorrectly בְּקָלָא וּבְקָעָתָא,[79] **T** צִלְצָלוֹן דְּמַשְׁמְעִין בִּיבָבָא).

The מְצִלְתַיִם are mentioned 13 times, in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemia. In 1 Ch **15**,19 they are called מצלתים נחשת (**G**

[78] Graetz(24), p. 701, states that for צלצלי תרועה we should read חצוצרות תרועה, since *terûă* is used only of wind instruments

[79] קָעָתָא may = תְּרוּעָה.

κύμβαλα χαλκά, **S** omits, **V** *cymbala aenei*). In Neh **12**,77 **G** has translated מצלתים as a participle, rendering it κυμβαλιζόντες. Elsewhere **G** has κύμβαλα and **V** has *cymbala*. **S** has ציצלא in 1 Ch **13**,18; **16**,42; in Ezr **3**,10 it incorrectly has שיפורא; in 2 Ch **29**,25 it has תשבחתא; and it omits in 1 Ch **15**,19; **25**,6; 2 Ch **5**, 12.13.

These are mentioned in Rabbinic literature as צלצל and מצלתים. The name of one of the performers on the cymbals is mentioned in M. Shek. **5**, 1; he is again referred to in M Tamid **7**,3. From the above we see that only one person played the cymbals in the procession (cf. 1 Ch **17**,42). It is also stated in M Arak **2**,5 that only one set of cymbals was used. In the comment on this passage (Arak 17^b) it becomes clear that צלצל means, not one cymbal, but a pair: "There were two cymbals, but since only one action was required, and one man could do it, the singular is used."[80]

A similar story is related of the cymbal as is related of the flute in Arak. 10^b: "There was in the sanctuary a cymbal of brass whose sound was pleasant. It was broken and the sages sent and brought artisans from Alexandria in Egypt, who repaired it; but its sound was no longer sweet. Thereupon they removed the repairs and its sound became sweet as it had been before."[81] The same story is told in J Sukka 55c in a somewhat briefer form.

Gesenius (*Thes* 1167^a) takes them from צלל, *to resound*, which he considers onomatopoetic; if also Barth §138,2, Nöldeke NB p. 42, and Brockelmann VGr **1**,247.

These instruments clearly refer to instruments of percussion, certainly to cymbals, as may be seen from their forms (צלצלים plural and מצלתים dual), from their derivation from צלל, from the context of the passages in which they occur, and from the Versions.

It is not possible to tell the exact difference between the

80 מצלתים תרי היו כיון דחד עבידתא עבדי וחד גברא עביד בהו קרי ליה חד.
81 צלצל היה במקדש של נחשת היה והיה קולו ערב ונפגם ושלחו חכמים והביאו אומנין מאלכסנדריא של מצרים ותקנוהו ולא היה קולו ערב נטלו את תיקונו והיה קולו ערב כמות שהיה

צלצלי שמע and the צלצלי תרועה, though it is most probable that the usual interpretation, *i.e.* that the former are smaller cymbals with a moderate sound, while the latter were larger with a loud sound, is correct.[82]

It is quite likely that Asaph, in 1 Ch 16,5 is referred to as using castanettes. Yet, when we consider that Oriental music is far noisier than ours, we should imagine that the director would have need of an instrument that would make more noise than the castanettes, in order to be heard above the din.

The cymbals are found among the Assyrians and the Egyptians. Of those of the latter, we have some actual specimens. Wilkinson(7), p. 255, shows a pair of cymbals from the British Museum. They are five and one-half inches in diameter and have holes for handles, which, however, are missing. He thinks that the handles, like the cymbals, were made of brass, bound with leather or strings. Another pair of cymbals, described by Engel(14), p. 227, are made of bronze.

There are also several representations of Assyrian cymbals on their monuments. Wellhausen(32), p. 232, shows in the quartet referred to by many, a pair of small cymbals, played by a man. They are flat, disc-shaped, and have handles; they are being struck against each other like our cymbals. Engel(14), p. 74, fig. 22, shows cymbals of a different form. They are cone-shaped, have rather long handles, and are struck one on top of the other.

שלשים

The שָׁלִשִׁים are mentioned only in 1 S 18,6. **G** translates *κύμβαλα*, **V** *sistrum*, **S** צִיצְלָא and **T** צֲלָצְלִין.

Pfeiffer(1) takes them to refer to castanettes. Forkel(2) takes the word to apply to a three-stringed instrument. Jahn(4) thinks that it may refer to the triangle. Nowack(30), because of the rendering of **G**, thinks that the cymbals are intended; but he states that they may have been cymbals having three par-

[82] An attractive combination would be שמע = Eg. *šm'*, to sing, make music (cf. Erman-Grapow, *Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch* Berlin, 1921, p. 182); but this is very uncertain.

allel bars. Haupt, in a note on Wellhausen(32), p. 223, states that the word may represent a small triangular harp, and compares the Greek *trigonon*. Gressmann(35) thinks that the word is to be connected with an Ar. تسليس,[83] which he interprets as meaning *adorned with rings*. It would thus refer to the rings or disks with which tambourines are usually provided. Stainer (48) thinks that a lute is meant.

It is impossible to determine exactly what the *šališim* denoted. Judging from the one passage where it occurs, I hardly think that it could refer to a small harp; the sense demands some instrument capable of producing a good volume of sound. For the same reason a three-stringed lute would also be inappropriate. Of course, the word must have some connection with the numeral three. On this basis it might refer to the sistrum (cf. below), which often has three bars. However, the number three is not characteristic of the sistrum, for it often has four bars. The most attractive identification would be the triangle. This, however, is not found on the ancient monuments. Even the modern Arabs do not know it.

The expression בְּשָׁלִישׁ in Is **40**,12 is rendered *δρακί* by **G** and *tribus digitis* by **V**, and hence means that quantity which can be taken up in three fingers, a pinch (cf. Haupt BzA **4**,583 note). This leads me to think that *šališim* may refer to the instrument held in the three fingers, *i.e.* the castanettes. The castanettes are attached to the thumb and the third finger, or to the thumb and the first two fingers. This should, however, not be considered a definite identification. It is merely a suggestion.

מנענעים

The מְנַעֲנְעִים are mentioned only in 2 S **6**,5. **G** translates *κύμβαλα*, **V** correctly, *sistra*, **S** ܪܒܝܥܐ[84] and **T** רביעין.

[83] It would thus be connected with the late Hebrew שלשלת chain, and the ש would be $ש_3$; whereas the ש of שלשים is generally taken to be $ש_1$. Besides, we are not sure that the ancient tambourines had metal discs.

[84] This denotes a timbrel, a square (or oblong) tabor hung from the neck and played on both sides.

Pfeiffer(1), noting that the *menaanim* of 2 S **6**,5 are in 1 Ch **12**,7 replaced by *ḥaçoçerot*, thinks that a wind instrument is intended, but gives no description of it. Jahn(4) states that the translation of **G** is incorrect, while *sistra* of **V** is right. Gesenius (*Thes.* 865[b]) compares the derivation of *menaanim* from נוע *to move about*, with the derivation of σεῖστρον from σείω. The word is, in form, a *pilpel* participle from נוע (cf. GB[17], 438[b]).

One is inclined to adopt the view that the word refers to the sistrum, especially in view of **V**'s translation. The fact that the word is plural seems to refer to the sistrum's always having either three or four bars. It was a very common instrument in Egypt. There were two varieties, as Sachs(50) shows on p. 3, and they are quite different in shape. The sistrum alluded to above, which Sachs calls the Bügelsistrum, consists of a piece of metal, bent into the shape of an inverted U, which is attached to a handle. The U-shaped top has either three or four sets of holes, through which are inserted thin strips of metal, which are bent at the ends, so as not to fall out. Often these strips are bent into the shape of serpents, as shown by Wilkinson(7), p. 323, fig. 230.

These sistra were quite common in the Egyptian divine service, but apparently not so common as the Naos-sistrum shown by Sachs(50), p. 15, fig. 5. This was originally, as Sachs shows, a symbol of the deity whose image was represented thereon; later it came to be used as a sort of rattle.[85] Exactly what produced the rattling noise is not evident, but it is possible that the top of the sistrum was hollow and that pebbles or rattles were inserted.

A most interesting ancient representation of the ordinary sistrum may be found in BD *s.* Isis. Here is shown a statue of the goddess Isis, who holds in her right hand the sistrum, which is very well preserved. It is about nine or ten inches high and has four bars.

[85] For an interesting account of the symbolism of the sistrum, cf. Sachs(50), p. 3ff. For an elaborate account of the musical instruments of the Egyptians, cf. Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des Alten Ägyptens*, Berlin, 1921.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I have omitted the more obvious abbreviations, as well as the abbreviations of the various Talmudic Tractates, and of the books of the Bible.

AGGW	*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
AJP	*The American Journal of Philology.*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
Arab.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic.
AV	Authorized Version.
Barth	*Die Nominalbildung in den Semitschen Sprachen*, von J. Barth. Leipzig, 1889-91.
BD	Baumeister, A. *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.* München und Leipzig, 1885-88.
Bochart, *Phal. et Can.*[4]	Samuelis Bocharti, *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan.* Editio quarta, Lungduni Batavorum, 1692.
Bondi	*Dem Hebräisch-Phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratischen Texten, von J. H. Bondi.* Leipzig, 1886.
Brockelmann VGr.	*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, von Carl Brockelmann.* Zwei Bände. Berlin, 1908-1913.
Brugsch	Brugsch, H. *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch.* Leipzig, 1867-1882.
BzA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt.
Dalman[2]	*Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* von G. H. Dalman. Zweite Auflage. Frankfurt am Main, 1922.
Derenbourg	Hartwig Derenbourg, "Les Mots Grecs dans le livre de Daniel." *Mélanges Graux*, Paris, 1884.
DS	Daremberg et Saglio. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.* Paris, 1875-1919.
Eg.	Egyptian.
G	The Septuagint.
Gesenius *Thes.*	Giulielmi Gesenii *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti.* Lipsiae, 1835-1853.

GB[17]	*Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* .... bearbeteit von Franz Buhl. 17. Auflage, unveränderter anastätischer Neudruck. Leipzig, 1921.
GK[28]	*Wilhelm Gesenius Hebräische Grammatik*, vollig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch. 28. Auflage. Leipzig, 1910.
Gr.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew.
Madden	Madden, F. W. *History of Jewish Coinage.* London, 1864.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
Jastrow	*A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.*, by Marcus Jastrow. New York and London, 1903.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* .... herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. . . .Berlin, 1899-1915.
König	*Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, von Friedrich Eduard König. 1881-1897.
Krauss	Krauss, S. *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum.* Zwei Bände. Berlin, 1898-1899.
Lewy	*Die Semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, von Heinrich Lewy. Berlin, 1895.
M	Mishna.
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums.*
MT	Massoretic Text.
Muss-Arnolt	"On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin." Reprinted from the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 23 (1892).
Niebuhr	*Reisebeschreibungen nach Arabien und Andern Umliegenden Ländern*, von Carsten Niebuhr. Kopenhagen, 1774-1778.
Nöldeke NB	*Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, von Theodor Nöldeke. Strassburg, 1910.
OC	*The Open Court.*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
OT	The Old Testament.
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association.*
Prellwitz	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, von Walter Prellwitz. Göttingen, 1892.
Q	Qerē.

REJ	*Revue des Etudes Juives.*
S	The Peshita.
Růžička KD	"Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen." *BzA*, Band 6, Heft 4.
SBOT	*The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Paul Haupt.
Schröder	*Die Phönizische Sprache*, von Paul Schröder. Halle, 1869.
Smith	*Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. R. Payne Smith. Oxonii, 1868-1897.
SH	*Shilte Haggibborim*, by Abraham di Porta Leone, 1612. Translated into Latin by B. Ugolini in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, vol. 32. Venetiis, 1744-1769.
Stade	*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik*, von Bernhard Stade. Leipzig, 1879.
Syr.	Syriac.
T	Targum.
T°	Targum Onkelos.
V	The Vulgate.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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List of Illustrations to the Article Musical Instruments in OT

Fig. 1

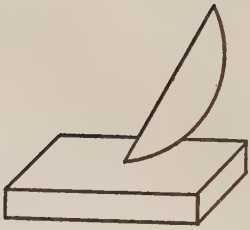

Fig. 2

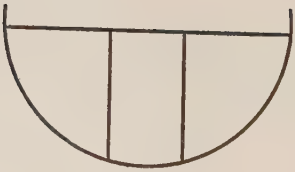

Fig. 3

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON "THE THREE CALENDARS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL"

By JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

OF THE FOLLOWING NOTES, supplementing my paper, "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," published in HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL, I (1924), 13-78, some were written during the rather long period intervening between the time when the volume went to press and the time of its appearance. I had hoped to incorporate them in that paper, as the presence of the numbering of note 83a on p. 63, l. 15 of that article, without, however, the actual note appearing at the bottom of the page, indicates; but circumstances made that impossible. The kind reception accorded that paper by generous friends and critics encourages me to present here, in the form of a supplementary paper, these and a few other notes written subsequently. The justification for this is the fact that in the main these are less notes in the strict sense of the word than excursi dealing with separate, even though minor, problems which have arisen in this study of the calendar systems of ancient Israel. However, in order to co-ordinate them properly with the original article, I have chosen to present them here in the order in which they would have appeared and with the enumeration they would have had, had I been able, as I had wished, to incorporate them in that paper. The page number at the beginning of each note indicates the page of that article to which it has application, while the note number indicates the exact position which it should have among the notes.

NEW YEAR'S DAY ON THE 1ST OF NISAN

68A (CONTINUED) P. 56

Epstein[1] maintains that a system of reckoning the new year from the 1st of Nisan was in vogue already in the early pre-exilic

[1] מקדמוניות היהודים, 8.

period. He bases this conclusion upon the expression תשובת השנה in II Sam. 11.1; I Ki. 20.22, 26. He holds that this indicates the time when the season of military campaigning in the open field began. Certainly this must have been the spring. II Sam. 11.1 is of pre-exilic composition, as the source from which I Ki. 20.22, 26 drew the expression תשובת השנה, must also have been. But, as we have seen,[2] a calendar system with the old Canaanite month names obtained in Israel throughout practically the entire pre-exilic period. Consequently for this period the term תשובת השנה could be equated with neither the 1st of the first month of Calendar II nor the 1st of Nisan of Calendar III, since these calendars were not yet known. Consequently תשובת השנה can mean no more than the equinox, the moment when the year truly seemed to turn about. Clearly it is a synonym, with a parallel etymological development, of the more common term תקופה and presumably like this term it could designate either the spring or the fall equinox. Of course in the three passages cited, the spring equinox alone is referred to. But in no way does this justify the implication that this marked the beginning of the new year.

It is interesting, and perhaps not without significance, that Josephus[3] agrees with the Mishna that the 1st of Nisan marked the begining of the year so far as the festival calendar was concerned. But his statement is based obviously upon a literal interpretation of Ex. 12.2, and therefore has little or no independent significance. Of greater import seemingly is the fact, established with apparent conclusiveness by Gutesmann,[4] that the Jews of Elephantine reckoned the year from the 1st of Nisan. But even this fact is, on second thought, not of primary significance, since the Jews of Elephantine did not employ a calendar of their own, nor one of ancient origin and use among them. Instead the Babylonian month names were employed by them quite generally during the 5th century B. C., at least a full century before these same names came into general use in Palestine. And inasmuch

[2] HUCA, I (1924), 16-18.

[3] *Antiquities*, 1, 3, 3.

[4] "Sur le calendrier en usage chez les Israélites au V^e siècle avant notre ère," REJ, 53 (1907), 195.

as during the 5th century B. C. Egypt seems to have been a Persian province under direct administration from the Persian court, the use of the Babylonian month names in Egypt during this period probably implied no more than that the Babylonian calendar had been introduced into that province by the Persian royal administrators, and with this, of course, the reckoning of the year from the Babylonian New Year's Day on the 1st of Nisan. In other words, the Elephantine papyri probably evidence no more than that the Jews of this province employed the Babylonian calendar already in the 5th century B.C., but in no wise does it follow from this that they independently reckoned the new year from the 1st of Nisan.

According to Rathjens[5] the Falasha year begins at Passover. If this statement be correct, it may imply that the Falashas have continued the old practice of the Jews of Elephantine, with a slight modification, however, in that they deferred the New Year's Day for two weeks, and instead of celebrating it on the 1st of Nisan, now celebrate it at the middle of the month, at the full moon day, in all likelihood, and in conjunction with the Passover-festival.

II

THE DEUTERONOMIC DATE OF PASSOVER
77A (P. 61)

The fact that Deut. 16.1 still fixed the Passover celebration for the month of Abib, but did not state the exact days of the month upon which the festival began and ended, probably has a double signification. On the one hand, as v. 9 clearly implies, one determining factor in fixing the date of the Matzoth-festival in the pre-Deuteronomic period of Israel's history was the state of the crop. As I have shown elsewhere,[6] in this period the Omer, or first sheaf, was brought as a taboo-sacrifice on the day following the close of the entire Matzoth-festival. In other words, this

[5] *Die Juden in Abyssinien*, 76.

[6] "The Origin of Maṣṣoth and the Maṣṣoth-Festival," AJT, XXI (1917), 277-281.

day was actually the eighth and last day of an eight days period of festival celebration. This eighth day bore to the seven days of the Matzoth-festival proper, immediately preceding it, a similar relation to that which the pre-exilic and early post-exilic New Year's Day on the 10th of the seventh month bore to the seven days of the Succoth-festival, which during this period immediately preceded it. But since on this Omer-day the first sheaf of the new grain was solemnly cut and sacrificed, and this ceremony could not have been performed until the new grain was ripe and ready for cutting, it follows that the state of ripening of the new crop must have been a prime factor in determining the actual day of the celebration of this solemn rite of cutting and offering the first sheaf, and consequently also the date, or rather the appropriate time for the celebration of the Matzoth-festival on the seven days preceding.

On the other hand, since, as we have seen,[7] Calendar I was a purely solar calendar, in which undoubtedly the two equinoxes played an important role, and since in later Christian practice and also in certain Jewish circles it was a rule that the Passover-festival must follow, and might never precede the spring equinox,[8] it is quite likely that under Calendar I the date of the Passover was also determined in part by the equinox. In other words, it is quite probable that in the pre-Deuteronomic period the practice was to celebrate the Passover after the spring equinox, and as soon thereafter as the crop was sufficiently advanced for the first sheaf to be cut. In fact, if we may infer that the 1st of Abib was the day of the spring equinox, just as the 1st of Bul was the day of the fall equinox,[9] in Calendar I, then the full implication of Deut. 16.1 and 9 is just this, that the Passover always came after the spring equinox and as soon thereafter as the grain was ripe enough for the cutting to begin. Moreover, since in different parts of Palestine the grain does not ripen at the same time, and in the highlands, for example, the season is approximately two weeks later than along the Mediterranean Coast or in the Valley

[7] HUCA, I (1924), 64-71.
[8] Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3-4 I, 752f.
[9] HUCA, I (1924), 69.

of Esdraelon,[10] it would follow that in the pre-Deuteronomic period with its many local shrines and consequent local festival celebrations, the Passover-festival was observed at different times ranging through a period of two or three weeks duration. Just such variation as this is possible in the Passover legislation of Deut. 16, 1-9.[11] And it would follow necessarily from this that, if the date of cutting and sacrificing the first sheaf varied in different parts of the country, the date of the Shabuoth-festival, fifty days later, and marking the close of the period of the wheat-harvest, would likewise vary correspondingly.

This condition suggests the thought that perhaps one of the prime reasons for the adoption of Calendar II in place of Calendar I at just about the time of the Deuteronomic reformation, and perhaps in connection therewith, was to meet the need of a uniform and standardized calendar for the entire country, with the dates of the festivals upon particular days of the month specifically prescribed. For the institution of a central sanctuary would very quickly have necessitated the fixing of official dates for the observance of the festivals by all the people, when they might gather from all parts of the country to Jerusalem at one and the same time. In other words, Calendar I was not at all adapted to the worship of all the people at the Temple at Jerusalem, while Calendar II was.

III

THE ELEPHANTINE "PASSOVER PAPYRUS" AND CALENDAR III 83A (P. 63)

One serious objection presents itself to the conclusion that the fixing of the date of the Passover-festival upon the 15th–21st

[10] Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 274; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II 323; Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," PEF, 1907, 17.

[11] In this connection it is interesting to note that among the mediaeval Jews three different systems of determining the date of the Passover-festival seem to have obtained, one based upon astronomical computation, one according to the spring equinox, and one according to the state of ripening of the crop. (Cf. Mann, "An Early Karaite Tract," JQR *N. S.* XII [1922], 270, note 140, quoting Pinsker.)

of the first month in the Priestly Code, was the work of a late P2 writer and of the period after Ezra and Nehemiah, and gives rise to interesting speculation. Papyrus 6, published by Sachau,[12] the so-called "Passover Papyrus," enjoins as a command from the Persian court the celebration of Passover and abstinence from all leaven by the Jews of Elephantine from the 15th through the 21st of Nisan, the same date as is fixed in the Priestly Code for the Passover festival. This papyrus was written and the order contained therein promulgated in 419 B.C. In all likelihood this date is earlier than the composition of even the earliest of the P2 portions of the Hexateuch. This reference in this papyrus therefore seems to be the earliest literary record of the observance of the Passover from the 15th through the 21st of Nisan.

This fact may have one of two possible implications. It may indicate in the first place that the festival was observed in Palestine from the 15th through the 21st of Nisan for some time previous to its being recorded in P2 legislation; that, in other words, the P2 writers did not establish a new institution when they fixed the date of the Passover from the 15th, or rather from the night of the 14th, through the 21st of the first month, but merely recorded and legalized an institution which had been in existence for some time among the Jews of Palestine, as well as among those of Elephantine, although without legal or sacerdotal sanction. But, although possible, this is hardly likely, for calendar reforms seldom, if ever, come about in this manner. Rather, natural conservatism in religious practice tends to maintain an ancient date and manner of celebrating a festival even after sacerdotal authority has sanctioned a change with regard thereto.

Such being the case, the other possible implication seems much more probable, viz., that the fixing of the date of the Passover celebration in 419 B.C. for the 15th through the 21st of Nisan reflects the practice of the Babylonian Jews at this time, rather than that of their Palestinian brethren. The documents and traditions recorded in Ezra and Neh. show to what extent the kings of Persia were guided in their legislation for their Jewish subjects in all parts of their empire by influential Jews living in

[12] *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine.*

the immediate vicinity of the court. In all likelihood the Passover enactment recorded in the papyrus was promulgated at the suggestion of some pious and zealous Jew or group of Jews at the royal court, who were greatly concerned about the religious welfare and practice of their brethren in distant Egypt. Very probably it reflects the practice of the Jews of Babylonia at this time. This would indicate that the celebration of the Passover from the night of the 14th through the 21st of Nisan, like so many other reforms in the religious practice of Israel recorded in the Priestly Code, originated with the Jews of Babylonia, and passed from them on the one hand to the Jews of Elephantine, and on the other hand, and at a somewhat later date, to the Jews of Palestine and eventually into the legislation of the Priestly Code. In this particular case, it would seem, the introduction into Palestine of the Babylonian Jewish practice of celebrating the Passover from the night of the 14th through the 21st of Nisan took place somewhat later than 419 B.C., since apparently, the earliest Biblical, and therefore Palestinian, record thereof occurs in P2 legislation. In all likelihood it was a product of that same Judaeo-Babylonian cultural influence which at a date seemingly somewhat later still brought about the introduction of the Babylonian month names into Palestine, and with them the adoption of Calendar III.

It is significant to note in this connection that just as this new dating of the Passover-festival, so also the Babylonian month names were introduced among the Jews of Elephantine at a date considerably earlier than they were introduced into Palestine.[13] This can be easily accounted for, not only by the fact that the province of Egypt and with it the Jewish colony of Elephantine, were at this time apparently under more direct Persian crown administration, and therefore presumably more open to cultural influences emanating directly from Persia, than was Palestine, but also and probably to an even greater degree, by the additional fact that the Jews of Palestine, and particularly those whose ancestors had not gone into exile in Babylonia, but had remained dwelling in Palestine continuously, possessed and, with natural

[13] Cf. HUCA I (1924), 19-21.

conservatism, cherished traditions and practices with regard to their calendar, both as to the designation of the months and the dates of the festivals, which the Jews of Elephantine, subject to the cultural influences of their Egyptian environment and their Persian administration, had either discarded entirely, or else had ceased to cherish. For this very natural and obvious reason the Jews of Palestine naturally continued to employ Calendar II with its old month designations and dating of the festivals for a full century or more after the Jews of Elephantine had discarded it.

It may be, too, that other reforms in the calendar and in the manner of celebrating the festivals were also the result, direct or indirect, of Babylonian Jewish influence. For in their distant, Mesopotamian home many of the old, Palestinian festival practices, which had originally strong local associations, such as the dances of the maidens in the vineyards on the 10th of the seventh month and the ceremony of the goat of Azazel on this same day, must have lost their meaning and appeal completely. The tendency among the Babylonian Jews would naturally be to outgrow and cease to observe such practices as these, and instead to develop a common, conventional, and of course in Babylonia purely theoretical type of celebration of all the festivals, with the priests as the chief ministrants and sacrifice as the main element of ritual observance. And once firmly established as the theoretical ritual practice of the Babylonian Jews, these new, conventional and colorless forms of festival celebration passed back to Palestine through the mediation of pious and zealous returning Jews, of whom Ezra and Nehemiah may well have been extreme but none the less thoroughly typical examples. In other words, much of the legislation of the Priestly Code, and particularly that which represents a change in or reform of pre-exilic religious institutions, may record the practice, or rather the theory, of Babylonian Jews transmitted to and adopted by the Jews of Palestine through their priestly leaders and authorities. This would imply that the influence of Babylonian Jewish theory and practice in the development of post-exilic Judaism was far larger than is usually imagined.

This would account also for another condition that existed

in this post-exilic Judaism of Palestine. The tendency would naturally be strong among those Jews of Palestine who were native-born, and particularly those whose ancestors had not been carried away to Babylonia, but had dwelt in Palestine uninterruptedly from remote times, to continue the old, local, colorful rites and ceremonies of the festivals. In other words, two potent and seemingly conflicting tendencies undoubtedly existed among the Jews of Palestine in the post-exilic period. On the one hand, there was the tendency to conventionalize the manner of celebrating the festivals and other religious institutions after the pattern of their celebration approved by the Babylonian Jews, to make all religious observance center in the Temple, with sacrifice as the main element of the ritual, and to put it under the authoritative ministration of the priests. Naturally this tendency would be heartily supported and eagerly fostered by the priests themselves. It found its official record in the Priestly Code.

On the other hand, there was the tendency, existing chiefly among the people at large, to persist in celebrating the old, local, colorful rites. As is invariably the case in such matters, some rites, such as the ceremony of the red heifer or that of the goat of Azazel on the 10th of the seventh month, were incorporated, though perhaps none too willingly, into the conventionalized and legalized celebration sanctioned by the priestly authorities of the Temple at Jerusalem. Other ceremonies, such as the complex ceremony of the "water-drawing," were not so sanctioned and incorporated into the legislation of the Priestly Code, but none the less persisted in the folk practice so strongly that they continued to be regularly observed, though perhaps in somewhat modified form, even in the very precincts of the Temple itself, as the Mishna records. And still others, such as the dances of the maidens in the vineyards, having no connection at all with the Temple cult, and no possibility thereof whatsoever, gradually died out, and in the Mishnaic period survived only as vague and little understood memories. In this way unquestionably much of the ritual of post-exilic Judaism evolved.

IV

THE NEW MOON IN CALENDAR I
84A (P. 65)

The fact that the year of Calendar I was purely solar does not mean, of course, that in the early period of Israel's history, when Calendar I was in effect, no cognizance was taken of the moon and its phases, and particularly of the new moon and full moon days. The comparatively numerous references to the festal celebration of the new moon day,[14] and perhaps also the much discussed but rather improbable hypothesis that in the pre-exilic period שבת may have designated, or at least have borne some relation to the full moon day, are ample proof of this. There is abundant evidence also that in this same early period the days intervening between two new moons constituted a definite unit or measure of time within the year. Furthermore, these periods were designated as "moons" or "months," and each had its particular name, as for example ירח זו, "moon of Ziv" or "flowers"(?), ירח בול, "moon of Bul," or "grain," ירח האתנים, "moon of Ethanim" or "streams" (?)[15] None the less this does not in any way condition or invalidate the conclusion that Calendar I was solar in character and regarded the solar year as the basic unit of time, and that the observance of the lunar months was merely a matter of convenience rather than a formal, systematic and accurate division of the year.

In fact just this is the very clear implication of the old Palestinian agricultural calendar recorded upon a tablet discovered in Palestine in 1908 and discussed by Marti.[16] Marti's reading and interpretation of this tablet are as follows:

ירחן אסיף ירחן ז	Two months, ingathering of the fruit. Two
רע ירחן לקש	months sowing. Two months, late sowing.
ירח עצד פשת	One month, pulling of flax.
ירח קצר שער [?]	One month, barley harvest.

[14] I Sam. 20.5, 18, 24, 27, 34; II Ki. 4, 23; Is. 1.13; Am. 8.5; Hos. 2.13; Ps. 81.4.

[15] Cf. HUCA I (1924), 70, note 96.

[16] ZAW XXIX (1909), 222–229.

ירח קצרן כלם	One month, all the other harvests.
ירחן זמר	Two months, vintage.
ירח קץ	One month, gathering the fruit.

Actually this is not a true calendar, but rather a list of the successive stages of the agricultural year and the approximate duration of each expressed in terms of months, probably composed for the guidance of some early Palestinian peasant. Were this a true calendar, it would undoubtedly have begun with the New Year's Day, or at least with the first month of the established calendar, and would probably have given also the names of the months. As it is, it begins with that agricultural operation, viz. the ingathering, which took place, speaking broadly, during the sixth and seventh months of Calendar II. Consequently its beginning bears obviously no relation whatsoever to the New Year's Day or the official calendar.

The importance attached to the new moon and its general observance as a minor festival were probably survivals from the religious conceptions and practices of Israel in its pre-Canaanite, desert, nomadic or semi-nomadic period. It is a well-known fact that in the nomadic culture of the Arabian Desert the moon plays a larger and more significant role than in the agricultural civilization of Palestine, and that the reappearance of the new moon is regarded as the occasion for joy and festive celebration.[17] Therefore, in the early period of Israel's sojourn in Palestine, when the desert days were as yet none too remote, the appearance of the new moon may have continued to be observed as a religious or semi-religious occasion, as in I Sam. 20, even though it played no primary role in the religious and economic calendar.

V

THE CALENDAR OF ENOCH AND OF JUBILEES

88A (P. 66)

The calendar of the Book of Jubilees has been made the subject of a very searching study by Epstein.[18] He concludes that the calendar of Jubilees was based upon a double reckoning of

[17] Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 366, 455, 519; II. 306.

[18] "Le Livre de Jubilés," parts VI and VII, REJ 22 (1891), 8-20, and *Eldad Ha-Dani*, 152-161.

the year, a civil reckoning and a religious reckoning, or, in other words, that there were two calendars employed simultaneously, a civil calendar and a religious calendar.[19] The year of the civil calendar consisted of three hundred and sixty-four days, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, plus four additional days not belonging to any month, but inserted at the times of the equinoxes and solstices between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the first month, the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth month, the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh month, and the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth month. Precisely this is the calendar system of the Book of Enoch, 72-82. But besides this civil calendar, Epstein contends, there was the religious calendar with the year likewise of three hundred and sixty-four days, but divided into thirteen months of twenty-eight days each.

Nowhere does the Book of Jubilees make the slightest direct reference to such a religious calendar system. However, Epstein bases his conclusion with regard to it upon very significant indirect evidence In five passages[20] it is stated that the Shabuoth-festival falls on the 15th of the third month. Earlier in his article[21] Epstein showed conclusively that in early times the Passover-festival began on Sunday and ended on Saturday, and that the "day after the Sabbath" of Lev. 23.11, from which they began to count the fifty days until the Shabuoth-festival, was the day following the close of the entire Passover-festival, viz. Sunday. This carried with it the conclusion that not only the first day of the Passover-festival but also Shabuoth as well fell always on Sunday. Now, as Epstein has shown, since according to Jubilees 49.1ff. the Passover-festival came on the 15th–21st of the first month, the day after the close of the festival would be the 22nd. If each month had thirty days, the fiftieth day from the 22nd of the first month would fall on the 11th of the third month. But

[19] This conclusion has been accepted, although somewhat hesitatingly, by Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 55).

[20] 1.1 compared with 6.17, 21; 14.10, 18, 20; 15.1; 16.13; 44. 1-5; therefore five passages and not only three, as Epstein states (REJ 22 [1891], 10; *Eldad Ha-Dani*, 156f.).

[21] REJ 22 (1891), 4-8.

this does not agree with the date of the Shabuoth-festival in Jubilees on the 15th of the third month. This date would be possible only if the months intervening between the two festivals consisted of twenty-eight days each. Then Shabuoth would fall exactly on the 15th of the third month. Moreover, with this religious calendar, Epstein has shown, all the important festivals of the Jewish year would fall on Sunday, with the single exception of Yom Kippur. Finally, Epstein supports his conclusion by adducing the example of the Falashas,[22] who likewise begin to count the fifty days between the Passover- and Shabuoth-festivals from the 22nd of the first month, and on the 12th of the third month celebrate a festival, which they call Mairar, and which corresponds to the Biblical Shabuoth. That this festival falls on the 12th, and not on the 15th, of the third month is due to the fact that the Falashas employ a lunar calendar with months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. Moreover, on the 15th of each month the Falashas observe a festival in commemoration of Passover and Succoth, which begin on the 15th of the first and seventh months respectively. Epstein's source of information regarding the Falasha practice is d'Abbadie, writing in *L'Univers Israélite* of 1851. This is the sum total of Epstein's evidence and argument.

The support which the evidence from the Falasha practice lends to Epstein's argument is rather dubious. In the first place, it should be noted that among them Shabuoth, or its equivalent, Mairar, does not fall on the 15th of the third month, as in the calendar of Jubilees, but on the 12th. Furthermore, according to a later writer,[23] the Falashas do not celebrate the Shabuoth-festival itself, but instead the 12th of every month is observed as a semi-holiday, commemorating the original Shabuoth-celebration on the 12th of the third month. And in the second place, the months of the Falasha year consist of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, and not of twenty-eight days. The reference to the Falasha celebration on the 15th of each month, in commemoration of the Passover- and Shabuoth-festivals, if it has

[22] *Ibid.*, 14f.; *Eldad Ha-Dani*, 152ff.
[23] Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abyssinien*, 79.

any bearing at all upon the question, argues against Epstein's conclusion; for if the Falashas had had any reminiscense whatsoever of an original celebration of Shabuoth on the 15th of the third month, they would, in all likelihood, have associated this festival with Passover and Succoth in the list of festivals commemorated on the 15th of each month. The fact that they do not do this, but instead associate the Shabuoth-festival with the 12th of the month, indicates, it would seem, that there was no primary relationship of any kind between the Falasha calendar and that of the Book of Jubilees. In other words, the entire evidence which Epstein would draw from the Falasha practice may be put aside. If anything at all, it tends to disprove his argument.

This leaves only the internal evidence of the Book of Jubilees as the sole basis of the hypothesis of a double calendar system. And even this evidence is precarious. It can not be gainsaid that the only way to arrive at the 15th of the third month as the date of the Shabuoth-festival by counting fifty days from the 22nd of the first month is by assuming that the first and second months consisted each of twenty-eight and not of thirty days. This is actually the only valid basis of Epstein's entire hypothesis of a religious year of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each. But a number of important considerations speak strongly against this hypothesis.

In the first place, had the religious year consisted of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, there would have been ample opportunity in the Book of Jubilees, and even direct necessity, to state this not merely once but repeatedly. For one of the prime purposes of the book is obviously to determine the exact day in the month and year, and apparently in the week as well, when each festival should be observed, in order that each might come upon its own, proper, divinely-appointed day, and not be celebrated upon a day not sacred or not destined by God for such celebration. This purpose is clearly set forth in 6.23-38 in great detail. Precisely here would have been the logical place for the author of the Book of Jubilees to have announced his religious calendar system of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each —had he had such a system. But instead of so doing, in this very passage he refers to the months as the case demands, but appar-

ently they are the regular months of the so-called civil calendar, with a festival on the 1st of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months, the days which, in this system, correspond to the equinoctial and solstitial days, and each exactly nine-one days from each other, i. e. with three months of thirty days each intervening between each festival. All this implies clearly a religious as well as a civil year of twelve months of thirty days each, with four extra days inserted at these four important moments of the year. Furthermore, in 25.16 Rebekkah prays that the number of Jacob's children may be according to the number of the months of the year, i. e. without doubt twelve, and not thirteen, for inasmuch as the verse goes on to state that from these children Jacob's numerous posterity shall spring, it can have in mind only Jacob's twelve sons, and not his daughter Dinah also.

Moreover, Epstein loses sight of the fact that the fixing of Shabuoth and also of the first days of Passover and Succoth on the 15th of the first, third and seventh months respectively, and in connection with Shabuoth the oft-repeated and explicit statement that this day was the middle of the month, implies a month of thirty days, or at least of twenty-nine days, but certainly not one of twenty-eight days.

Finally, it is true that, as Epstein maintains, in a religious year consisting of thirteen months, each of twenty-eight days, every main festival except Yom Kippur would fall on Sunday. But he has failed to realize that this would be the case also in a year of twelve months of thirty days each, with an additional day inserted at the end of every third month, as the following table will show.

I/1—Sunday
I/15—Sunday; first day of Passover
I/22—Sunday; day of sacrifice of first sheaf
II/1—Tuesday
III/1—Thursday
III/11—Sunday; Shabuoth
III/30—Friday
Saturday; extra day intervening between III/30 and IV/1
IV/1—Sunday

V/1—Tuesday
VI/1—Thursday
VI/30—Friday
Saturday; extra day intervening between VI/30 and VII/1
VII/1—Sunday; New Year's Day
VII/10—Tuesday; Yom Kippur
VII/15—Sunday; first day of Succoth
VII/22—Sunday; Shemini Atzereth
VIII/1—Tuesday
IX/1—Thursday
IX/25—Sunday, first day of Chanukkah
IX/30—Friday
Saturday; extra day intervening between IX/30 and X/1
X/1—Sunday; last day of Chanukkah
XI/1—Tuesday
XII/1—Thursday
XII/30—Friday
Saturday; extra day intervening between XII/30 and I/1

This calendar would comply with every prescription of the Book of Jubilees except one, viz. that Shabuoth comes on the 15th of the third month. According to this calendar system Shabuoth could come only on the 11th of the third month. Here we are face to face with an absolutely irreconcilable contradiction. Either we must accept all the calendar data which the Book of Jubilees, and also the Book of Enoch, offer, and formulate the calendar as above, with Shabuoth on the 11th of the third month, and so hold that the Book of Jubilees has erred in fixing Shabuoth on the middle, i. e. the 15th day of the third month, or else we must accept the latter statement and, following Epstein, posit on this single basis alone, and in defiance of every other bit of evidence, a supposed religious year consisting of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each. Despite Epstein's procedure, the former seems the simpler solution of the problem. A number of considerations indicate that the author of Jubilees might well

have erred in fixing Shabuoth on the 15th of the third month instead of on the 11th.

For there is good reason to believe that this calendar of Jubilees and of Enoch was purely theoretical and artificial, and was never a real or practical calendar in actual use in Israel. In the first place, this calendar is obviously solar in character. In fact Jubilees 6.32ff. as we have seen, denounces unconditionally those who follow a lunar calendar, and thus bring it about that the holidays fall upon days other than those appointed for them by God. But actually this is only an artificial, and not a true, solar calendar, since its year consists of only three hundred and sixty-four days, instead of three hundred and sixty-five plus. Unquestionably the ancients knew the exact duration of a solar year, at least within the fraction of a day. Very obviously the purpose of the authors of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees in artificially making their solar year consist of only three hundred and sixty-four days instead of three hundred and sixty-five, was to divide it exactly into fifty-two weeks, or four quarters of thirteen weeks or ninety-one days each. This is stated quite clearly in Jubilees 6.23-30 and, with somewhat less clearness, however, in Enoch 82.11ff. With a year of this length and divided in this manner, with the single exception of Yom Kippur, all the Biblical festivals and the first and last days of Chanukkah also, unquestionably likewise based upon an ancient winter solstitial festival, would, as we have seen, fall upon Sunday. The observance of these festivals, and particularly of Shabuoth upon this particular day of the week, is unquestionably what the author of Jubilees had in mind in 6.32ff., when he expressly charged the people not to disturb the year nor the days and festivals.

But it is clear that this solar year is not identical with the solar year of Calendar I. This last must have been a pure solar year of three hundred and sixty-five plus days, with the summer half year approximately seven days longer than the winter half. In another paper I shall attempt to show how pre-exilic Israel determined the two equinoctial days, and with them the exact duration, within a fraction of a day, of the solar year, and the important role which in consequence these two days played in the early religious practice of Israel.

Nor yet does this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees agree with Calendar II. For on the one hand, as we have seen,[24] this calendar was in all probability luni-solar in character. And on the other hand, as we have shown,[25] the festivals, and particularly Succoth and Passover, and with the latter of course Shabuoth as well, came, at the time of the introduction of Calendar II and for a considerable period thereafter, on different days of the month than as recorded in the calendar of Enoch and Jubilees.

And certainly this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees does not agree with Calendar III, which was altogether luni-solar in character, even though it does employ the dates of the Passover- and Succoth-festivals fixed by Calendar III. In fact it seems that it is precisely against the lunar system of reckoning of Calendar III that Jubilees 6.32-37 protests so urgently.

It must be concluded therefore that this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees accords with none of the three calendars which were employed in Israel in the Biblical and early post-Biblical periods. Nevertheless this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees has direct contact with two passages in the Bible, both obviously very late. Gen. 7.11 and 8.14 tell that the flood lasted from the 17th of the second month of the six hundredth year of Noah to the 27th of the second month of the following year.[26] Clearly this means to

[24] HUCA I (1924) 71-73.

[25] *Ibid*, 22-64.

[26] It is perhaps significant that LXX reads the 27th instead of the 17th, in 7.11, and that Jubilees 5.23 tells that on the evening of the 27th of the second month, and not on the 17th as in MT, God closed up the ark from without, and then the flood began. Nevertheless Jubilees tells in the very same verse that Noah and all the persons and animals with him entered the ark from the 1st through the 16th of the second month. This leaves an inexplicable gap of ten days in the Jubilees version of the flood-story between the closing-up of the ark and the beginning of the flood. Apparently the author of Jubilees was acquainted with both the Massoretic text and the LXX version of the flood-story, and sought to harmonize in this way the two conflicting dates of the actual beginning of the flood. Evidently, however, he failed to realize that by making the flood begin, not on the 17th, but on the 27th of the second month and end on the same day of the following year, he represented the flood as lasting, not a full solar year, but exactly a lunar year. With his bitter antagonism to lunar reckoning of the year, he would probably have been horrified to realize what he had done here. This is in all likelihood another instance of

tell that the flood lasted exactly a full solar year. Moreover, Gen. 8.4 tells that the waters of the flood began to abate on the 17th of the seventh month, exactly one hundred and fifty days after the flood had begun. But from II/17 to VII/17 are five full months. From this it follows that the months here consist of thirty days each. But equally clearly this is not the calendar system of the Priestly author of these verses himself, for the very fact that he dated the flood from II/17 of one year to II/27 of the next year indicates with certainty that the calendar year by which he himself reckoned time was a lunar year, in other words, the year of either Calendar II or Calendar III.

Obviously therefore the statement that the flood increased for exactly one hundred and fifty days, or five full months, must have come from some source other and older than P, which this P writer or glossator used in preparing his chronology of the flood. And since this older version stated explicity that the flood increased for one hundred and fifty days or five full months, this P writer unthinkingly and mistakenly fixed this period as from II/17 to VII/17, forgetting that in his own lunar calendar, with, in all likelihood, months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately, this period would have consisted of only one hundred and forty-seven, or perhaps of one hundred and forty-eight, days, but certainly not of one hundred and fifty. Quite clearly the months of the calendar which this older source of P employed must have consisted of thirty days each. Presumably therefore this was a solar calendar, the year of which consisted of twelve months each of thirty days. It is altogether improbable that this should have been Calendar I, the use of which, as we have learned,[27] had been abandoned at least three centuries before this late Priestly writer. Far more probably the calendar of the source of this Priestly writer was identical with the calendar of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees.[28]

his carelessness and inaccuracy in fixing the exact dates of incidents, to him of seemingly great importance, and may perhaps lend some slight additional weight to our conclusion that he erred similarly in fixing the 15th of the third month as the date of the Shabuoth-festival instead of the 11th.

[27] HUCA I (1924), 16ff.

[28] And not with the Babylonian calendar, or rather some combination thereof, as Gunkel maintains (*Genesis*,[2] 129).

But if so, then in one additional and important detail this Priestly writer did not fully understand the details of the calendar system of his source, and so he committed one further and very natural error. For in the calendar of Enoch and Jubilees not one hundred and fifty days would have intervened between II/17 and VII/17, but one hundred and fifty-two days, since between III/30 and IV/1 and again between VI/30 and VII/1 the extra, non-monthly day of each quarter would have intervened, as shown in the festival calendar of Jubilees formulated above. Either the source of P's flood-story employed the same system of harmonizing the twelve months of thirty days each with the three hundred and sixty-four days of his solar year, as did Enoch and Jubilees, or else, what seems far less likely, it inserted the four extra days together at some one favorable moment of the year. The more probable conclusion is that the source of the P version of the flood, or at least of the P chronology of the flood, employed exactly the same calendar as Enoch and Jubilees, and that the P writer or glossator was not perfectly acquainted with all the details thereof.

In one other respect the P version of the flood-story seems to exhibit a marked relationship to the flood-story in the Book of Jubilees. Gen. 8.13 tells that on the 1st of the first month the waters were completely dried from off the earth. This incident has little or no direct bearing upon the main course of the Priestly narrative; had it been omitted it would not have been missed, and the story would have been complete none the less. In all probability the P writer borrowed this date and the incident coupled with it from his source. In this older version this date and incident probably played a larger and more integral role. But Jubilees 5.21-32 presents a complete and detailed chronology of the flood, far more elaborate than that of P. Among other kindred details it tells that on the 1st of the first month the dry land appeared. Some similar chronological record of the course of the flood must have been contained in P's source, and from it he borrowed merely this one incident, in addition to the four other significant dates, of the beginning and the peak of the flood, the reappearance of the tops of the mountains and the end of the

flood.[29] Not improbably P's source told, just as Jubilees does, that on the 1st of the first month the earth reappeared; but this incident was probably also inadvertently changed somewhat in the process of borrowing. For as it reads now, Gen. 8.13 seems to say practically much the same thing that it repeats rather tautologically in v. 14, viz. that the earth became dry. But what more natural, therefore, than for P, or at least its source, to have recorded, as did the Book of Jubilees, not only the date upon which the tops of the mountains reappeared above the waters, but also the date when the waters had disappeared completely from the earth? Then the next and last date to be recorded would be that upon which the earth finally became completely dry, and it became safe for those within the ark to come forth. Just this is recorded in v. 14. Probably, therefore, what the P writer meant to tell in v. 13 was that on the 1st of the first month the waters had disappeared from off the earth, i. e. that the entire earth had now appeared above the waters.[30]

[29] Perhaps his reason for recording this one date was that he had a particular interest in it. If he was the same P writer as the author of Ex. 12.2, who seemingly attempted to represent the 1st of the first month as the New Year's Day, his interest in this date would be self-apparent.

[30] The fact that חרבו is used in v. 13 in two slightly varying meanings may be significant. In 13a המים is the subject, and the passage seems to mean "the waters had dried from off the earth". In 13b פני האדמה is the subject, and the passage clearly means "the face of the earth had become dry." 13b is, as all scholars agree, the J parallel to the P statement of v. 14. But the use of חרבו in 13a is suspicious, particularly since the Priestly narrative states that the waters disappeared, not by evaporation, as it were, by a simple process of drying up, as does the J version (cf. 8.1), but rather by gradually running off the surface of the earth, back through the openings of the earth into the great, subterranean Tehom, whence they had come (cf. 7.11; 8.2). It is quite possible that 13a may have read originally עברו, and that through the attraction of the similarly spelt חרבו in 13b, this corruption came about. Reading עברו in 13a, the Priestly portion of the verse tells that on the 1st of the first month of the six hundred and first year of Noah, the waters had passed off the earth. This statement accords much better with the course of the Priestly chronology of the flood. It is also practically an exact parallel to the statement of Jubilees 5.30 that on the 1st of the first month the entire earth appeared above the waters. (It should be noted that all the versions read חרבו in 13a as well as in 13b except the Vulgate. Its reading "imminutae sunt" accords better with עברו than with חרבו.)

The other Biblical passage which shows decided affinities with Enoch and Jubilees and their calendar is Gen. 1.14-19. It is true, as various scholars have pointed out,[31] that these verses exhibit marked affinity with Babylonian thought and literature, and particularly with portions of Tablet V of the Creation Epic. But it is equally true that these verses manifest quite as close relationship with the calendar system of Enoch and Jubilees, and particularly with the astronomical section of Enoch.[32] Elsewhere[33] I have shown that Gen. 1.14-19 in their present form have been greatly expanded from their original reading by some late glossator, and that in their original form these verses probably read very simply, ויאמר אלהים יהי מאורת בשמים ויאירו על הארץ ויהי כן: ויקרא אלהים למאור הגדל שמש ולמאור הקטן קרא ירח The meaning of these words is plain. They state in direct, concise form what must have seemed to the ancients the primary and natural purpose of the creation of the heavenly bodies, viz., to give light to the earth. It is in the later additions to this original reading that the affinities with Enoch and Jubilees are to be found. Some late glossator, or more probably glossators, assigned additional functions to the heavenly bodies, viz., to serve as astrological portents (לאתת), to determine the exact dates of the festivals (למועדים) to mark the days and years (לימים ושנים), and finally for dominion (לממשלת) over the day and night respectively. Precisely these are the functions ascribed to the sun and moon in Enoch 72-82.[34]

It is difficult therefore to avoid the conclusion that these late additions and revisions in Gen. 1.14-19, which ascribe new and less obvious and natural functions to the heavenly bodies,

[31] Most recently, König, *Die Genesis*, 153.

[32] Chapters 72-82.

[33] "The Sources of the Creation Story—Genesis 1:1-2:4," AJSL XXXVI (1920), 169-212; see in particular pp. 183-186.

[34] With the exception that in these chapters no explicit mention is made of the dominion of the sun and moon over day and night. Instead these chapters tell of the dominion over the seasons, months, weeks and days of the year of angels of various grades and classes. However, the idea in these chapters of "dominion" over a definite period of time is apparently the same as that in these verses of Genesis.

are the result of the influence, not necessarily of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees themselves, but rather of a certain astronomical-astrological, and possibly also in certain connections apocalyptic system of thought and writing which was current in Israel during the 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., of which literature the Books of Enoch and Jubilees almost alone have been preserved. In large part this system was dependent more or less directly upon Babylonian science and speculation. Unquestionably other similar writings, some of them probably older than Jubilees and the astronomical portions of Enoch by a century or more, were current in Israel during the early part of the Greek period, or perhaps even somewhat before this. And in all likelihood some such work as this, older probably than either Enoch or Jubilees, but employing much the same calendar as these two books, served as the source of the late P writer or glossator for his chronology of the flood and probably also for the expansion of the particular portion of the creation-story contained in Gen. 1.14-19.

But this brings us back to our first question; was this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees, and as we see now, also of the source of the late Priestly glossator of the Biblical flood-story, a real calendar, at one time in actual use in Israel, or was it purely an artificial, theoretical calendar, the product of late astronomical, theological and apocalyptic speculation? All the evidence favors the latter alternative. And granting then that this calendar was artificial and speculative, and was never subjected to the testing and correction of actual use, we need not hesitate to conclude that the author of the Book of Jubilees committed a gross error in fixing the festival of Shabuoth upon the 15th of the third month instead of upon the 11th, an error which either he did not realize, or else, what seems more likely, which he did not permit to trouble him or to interfere with his purpose of fixing this festival not only upon the same day of the week, but also upon the same day of the month as the first days of Passover and Succoth. At any rate, whatever may have been the cause of this error, we need not hesitate to conclude that the authors of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees employed only the one calendar and that Epstein's

hypothesis of a double calendar system is altogether untenable.[35]

And since we have concluded, as the result of this careful analysis of the calendar data given in Enoch and Jubilees, that this was not a real, but only an artificial solar calendar, we must correct the identification, even though it was only partial, which we proposed, of this calendar with Calendar I.[36] Not impossibly some reminiscence of Calendar I may have served as the basis of this late, artificial solar calendar, but the relationship could have been scarcely more than this.

VI

THE DATE OF THE FLOOD
87A (P. 66)

Cf. in particular Enoch 74.12-17. As Epstein has shown,[37] the second month here may perhaps correspond to Marcheshwan of Calendar III.[38] This would make the flood begin very properly with the advent of the rainy season. But it is surprising indeed, and difficult to account for that this should be called the second rather than the eighth month. It implies of course that the year began in the fall and that the numbering of the months began at the same time. But this is altogether out of accord with the terminology of Calendar II, which began to enumerate the months from the spring equinox, and according to which therefore, the second month would have corresponded to Iyyar of Calendar

[35] It is not impossible that this calendar of Enoch and Jubilees and as we see now, of the Priestly author or glossator of the creation-and flood-stories, may have been identical with the calendar of I Maccabees which reckoned the year from the 1st of Nisan (Cf. HUCA I [1924], 75), and with that of Ex. 12.2, which apparently began the year with the first month in the spring. On altogether independent grounds I have concluded that the Priestly portions of Ex. 12 are the work of a late, secondary Priestly writer ("The Sources of the Creation Story; Genesis 1:1-2:4," AJSL XXXVI [1920], 208ff.). There is little or no evidence that would tend either to confirm or refute this hypothesis. It must therefore remain, for the present at least, a hypothesis and nothing more.

[36] HUCA I (1924), 65f.

[37] מקדמוניות היהודים 11.

[38] So Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 3, 3; Rabbi Eleazar in Rosh Hashana, 11b and 12a; Bereshit Rabba, XXXIII.10.

III, just as Rabbi Joshua maintained in opposition to Rabbi Eleazar. While at first thought it does seem logical and favorable to this hypothesis that the flood should have been represented as beginning in Marcheshwan, the month of heavy rains, it is correspondingly illogical to have it end in the same month. We would rather expect to find it ending during the dry season of the year. And inasmuch as we have just seen that the late Priestly author of the chronology of the flood adapted from his source the same, or practically the same, calendar as was employed by the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, and that this calendar enumerated the months from the spring equinox on, we must understand that, with total disregard of climatic conditions in Palestine, this Priestly writer told that the flood began in the second month after the spring equinox and ended in the same month.

VII

THE DIVISION OF THE YEAR ACCORDING TO CALENDAR I 98A (P. 71)

If, as we have inferred, Calendar I was a purely solar calendar, the year of which consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and if this calendar took due cognizance of the two equinoxes, and if, finally, the fall equinox fell on the 1st of Bul and the spring equinox on the 1st of Abib, it is possible to make a few further deductions with regard to the division of the year according to this calendar. As Charlier has shown,[39] about 500 B.C. the summer half of the year was 186.1 days in length. Consequently in the pre-Deuteronomic period this half of the year contained almost exactly one hundred and eighty-six full days. Correspondingly the winter half of the year at this time was almost exactly 179.15 days in duration. For convenience in reckoning the calendar this was probably fixed at one hundred and eighty and one hundred and eighty-five days respectively for the winter and summer halves of the year, with some system of adjustment or intercalation every fourth or fifth year to compen-

[39] "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese des Alten Testaments," ZDMG 58 (1904), 380.

sate for the loss of one day during that period, consequent upon this system of reckoning. Accordingly the winter half of the year, i. e. from the 1st of Bul to the 1st of Abib, must have been divided into six months of thirty days each. The summer half of the year must likewise have consisted of six months of thirty days each plus five additional days not reckoned to any particular month, inserted at some convenient place in this part of the calendar, which, however, can not be determined with certainty because of present insufficient evidence.

However, an attractive hypothesis suggests itself here. The natural moment in the year for the insertion of these five extra-monthly days would be at the very end of the year. But during the pre-exilic period the Succoth-festival came, as we have seen,[40] on the last seven days of the year. Not improbably, therefore, these five days, and perhaps in some years six days, fell during the Succoth-festival and constituted the last five or six days thereof. This would mean then that under the conditions of Calendar I, the Succoth-festival would have begun on either the 29th, or occasionally the 30th of Ethanim, would have extended over the five, or occasionally six, extra-monthly days, and would have concluded with the New Year's Day on the 1st of Bul. This would accord with all the conditions governing the dating of this festival in the pre-exilic period, recorded in I Ki. 6.38; 8.2; 12.32f. It would also give a double significance to the statement of Ex. 23.16 that this festival was celebrated at the "going out of the year," for this may well have been the technical name for these last five or six extra-monthly days of the year. But, as has been said, this is only an hypothesis, probable perhaps, and certainly interesting, but an hypothesis none the less.

VIII

NEW YEAR'S DAY UPON THE 10TH OF THE SEVENTH MONTH 1A (P. 73)

A like conclusion, viz. that the reason for the New Year's Day falling upon the 10th of the seventh month was because of

[40] HUCA I (1924), 22ff.

the harmonization between the lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days and the solar year of three hundred and sixty-four days, ten days longer, identical with the calendar year of Enoch and Jubilees, has been reached by Epstein,[41] although the chain of reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion is anything but sound and convincing. However, I have expressed above my strong doubt whether the calendar of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, with its solar year of three hundred and sixty-four days, was identical with Calendar I, with its solar year undoubtedly of three hundred and sixty-five days. The former seems to have been an artificial calendar, never in actual use in Israel, while Calendar I was employed for many centuries, and must therefore have been based upon the actual conditions of a true solar year. Therefore, inasmuch as in the latitude of Palestine the summer half of the year is approximately seven days longer than the winter half, it follows that in a pure solar calendar, consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, the winter half of the year, consisting almost exactly of 179.15 days would be only a fraction of one day less than six full months, while the summer half of the year, consisting almost exactly of 186.1 days, would be six days longer than six full months. For practical purposes, therefore, as was said above, the winter half of the year was probably reckoned in Calendar I as equal to one hundred and eighty days or six full months, and the summer half, therefore, as equal to one hundred and eighty-five days, or six full months with five extra days inserted at some convenient time, and, assuming that the astronomical knowledge of the ancients was sufficiently exact to demand this, with an additional day inserted every few years, to compensate for the fact that a true solar year consists of approximately eleven minutes less than 365¼ days. From this it follows, as we have stated above, that in Calendar I these extra five days must have been inserted somewhere during the summer half of the year, and not, as in the calendar of Enoch and Jubilees, four extra days inserted at the ends of each of the four quarters of the year, in other words at the solstices and equinoxes. This is the chief reason for holding that the cal-

[41] מקדמוניות היהודים, 11.

endar of Enoch and Jubilees was theoretical and artificial and not identical with Calendar I.

But another, and a cogent, reason for not identifying these two calendars is that it is difficult to believe that Calendar I, a pure and practical solar calendar, intimately associated on the one hand with agricultural life and culture, and on the other hand with peculiar religious rites closely bound up with the phases of the sun and the changes of the seasons, should have consisted of only three hundred and sixty-four days instead of three hundred and sixty-five. In such case in the course of two short generations or even less the calendar would have become completely disarranged and out of accord with the actual relationship in position between sun and earth and the consequent seasons of the year by a period of over two months. It would thus have become utterly meaningless and useless, unless we may posit, what would be an altogether groundless hypothesis, a very complex system of leap year compensation. Unquestionably these ancients, whose economic and religious life both were so directly dependent upon the sun and the solar year, knew that the true solar year consisted not of three hundred and sixty-four, but of three hundred and sixty-five days, and their calendar, as well as the moments of the observance of their solar festivals, must have conformed to a year of three hundred and sixty-five days. In other words, this problem of the cause of the New Year's Day of Calendar II falling upon the 10th of the seventh month, can not be solved, as Epstein would solve it, by reference to the solar calendar of the Books of Enoch and Jubilees.

However, another, similar, and in many respects simpler solution of this difficult problem presents itself. Actually a solar year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 48 seconds. A lunar year consists of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes and 38 seconds.[42] The exact difference, therefore, between a solar and a lunar year is 10 days, 21 hours and 10 seconds. Unquestionably the astronomical knowledge of the ancients did not suffice to compute these 10 seconds; we may therefore disregard them here. Between two such years, therefore, the difference would be 21

[42] Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, 1, 43.

days and 18 hours, and between three such years 32 days and 15 hours. For practical purposes, however, a calendar must operate with a day as the smallest working unit of time. It is therefore not at all improbably that in Israel, at the time of the introduction of Calendar II, one lunar year may have been figured, not as of three hundred and fifty-four days, but as of three hundred and fifty-five, and two lunar years, not as of seven hundred and ten days, but as of seven hundred and nine. In that case the discrepancy between one calendar solar year and one calendar lunar year would have been ten days, and between two such years twenty-one days. This would have meant, therefore, that after the introduction of Calendar II the fall equinox, and with this the official New Year's Day, would come at the end of the first year of the employment of Calendar II upon the 10th of the seventh month. In the following year this would fall upon the 21st of this month, and in the third year upon the 1st or 2nd of the next month. But with the proper adjustments by means of the insertion of an intercalary month at regular intervals, approximately every third year[43] this condition would have adjusted itself fairly satisfactorily, and the New Year's Day would revert to the 1st, and then again to the 10th of the seventh month. Then, influenced by the actual fact that according to this system of reckoning the solar year was ten days longer than the lunar year, the official New Year's Day, still on the day of the fall equinox, as determined by the old practice of the solar year of Calendar I, was set formally on the 10th day after the close of the regular lunar year of Calendar II, i. e. on the 10th of the seventh month.

This hypothesis may find some slight confirmation in the fact that in Tyre the year began on October 19th, while in Gaza and Askelon it began on October 28th, i. e. ten days later.[44] As-

[43] The hypothesis suggests itself here that Calendar II might have employed the eight-year cycle of intercalation, as described in Enoch 74, 10-16, and known fairly generally in the Near East before the beginning of the present era (Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, $^{3-4}$ I, 751f.). Moreover, it may have been that the unsatisfactory character of this system of intercalation was one of the prime causes which led to the abandonment of Calendar II in favor of Calendar III, with a presumably more exact and practical system of intercalation.

[44] Schürer, *op. cit.*, I, 755, quoting Ideler, *op. cit.*, I, 433ff.

suming that the year of the Tyrian calendar was a lunar year of three hundred and fifty-five days, it would follow in all likelihood that the year of the calendar of Gaza and Askelon, similar to Calendar I in Israel, was a solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days.

Somewhat stronger corroboration of this hypothesis may be found perhaps in the Babylonian practice of celebrating the first eleven days of Nisan as the New Year's festival.[45] Unquestionably this is due to the fact that the Babylonians with their larger and more exact astronomical knowledge understood that the difference between a true solar and a true lunar year was more nearly eleven days than ten. Therefore they observed the first eleven days of Nisan as the New Year's festival, with the New Year's Day proper, the climax of the celebration, falling upon the 11th of the month. This would parallel the Israelite practice of celebrating the New Year's Day upon the 10th of the seventh month, and would thus lend some confirmation to the hypothesis propounded above in explanation of this otherwise strange and almost inexplicable problem.

In fact this parallelism reaches still further. For just as in Babylonia the entire period of the first eleven days of Nisan was celebrated as the *Zag-Muk* or *akîtu* festival, so in Israel during the period following the introduction of Calendar II the entire first ten days of the seventh month seem to have been observed in festal manner, culminating in the celebration of the New Year's Day on the 10th of the month. It is true that during the early part of this period and until the transfer of the date of Succoth to the 15th–21st of the month, in the period following Ezra and Nehemiah,[46] the festival was celebrated on the seven days immediately preceding the New Year's Day, i. e. from the 3rd through the 9th of the month. But as Ezra 3.1ff.; Neh. 7.73; 8.1ff.; Esdras 5.47-53; 9.37ff. show, the actual festal celebration with the offering of sacrifices, the reading of the Law and other

[45] Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, 159; Grimme, *Das israelitische Pfingstfest und der Pleiadenkult*, 83; Zimmern, "Babylonische Vorstufen der vorderasiatischen Mysterienreligionen," ZDMG 76 (1922), 52f.; Meissner, "Die gegenwärtigen Hauptprobleme der assyrischen Forschung," *ibid.*, 93; Landgon, "The Tablets of Uruk," AJSL XXXIX (1923), 283.

[46] HUCA I (1924), 28ff.

kindred rites, began on the 1st of the seventh month, when the people began to assemble in Jerusalem, and culminated in the celebration of the New Year's Day on the 10th of the month.

A striking and significant reminiscence of this is preserved in the Talmud. Rosh Hashana 8b (bottom) records the attempt of the Rabbis to account for the to them rather curious command in Lev. 25.9, to proclaim the Jubilee year on the 10th of the seventh month, according to their calendar ten days after the year had actually begun, and therefore after the day upon which logically it should have been formally declared a year of release of slaves. According to Rabbi Ishmael b. Jochanan b. Beroḳa, actually slaves did become free on New Year's Day on the 1st of the seventh month, in that from that day on they were no longer subject to their former masters, but they did not return to their former homes immediately. Instead during the ten days from Rosh Hashana to Yom Kippur they ate, drank and made merry, with crowns upon their heads. But as soon as Yom Kippur had come, and the Beth Din had had the trumplet blown, proclaiming the year of release, they returned to their former homes, and fields reverted to their original owners. This tradition seems to preserve a reminiscence of a somewhat saturnalian celebration in ancient Israel of these first ten days of the seventh month, when, as is explicitly enjoined in Deut. 16.11 for the Succoth-festival, slaves rejoiced and made merry along with their masters, a festival celebration which probably paralleled in many respects the celebration of the Babylonian *Zag-Muk*-festival on the first eleven days of Nisan. Both institutions in all likelihood had a common origin in the recognition of the ten or eleven days intervening between the close of the lunar year and that of the solar year, the latter moment marking the beginning of the new calendar year.

All this evidence tends to confirm our conclusion that the observance of the New Year's Day upon the 10th of the seventh month of Calendar II was due to the continued association of the New Year's Day of Calendar II with the fall equinox, as in Calendar I, and the consequent necessity of harmonizing the calendar lunar year of three hundred and fifty-five days of Calendar II with the calendar solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days of Calendar I.

SOME NOTES TO THE TEXT OF THE SCRIPTURES

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1.

ISAIAH 44.8 אל־תפחדו ואל־תרהו is clear enough from the context, but so far the real etymology of the second verb is unknown and doubtful. Jewish medieval commentators, like the ancient versions, translate according to the context and confess ignorance as to the root. Ewald suggested תראו, while Lagarde read תרהבו in consonance with 60.5 (רהב=רחב). However, it seems to me that originally this word read תדהו, to be derived from Arabic دهى or دهو "be afraid, be alarmed" (Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, I, 468, col. 2; comp. especially *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ed. Breslau, I, 310, l. 9: اندهيت "I became alarmed"). The change from ד to ר and *vice versa* is of common occurrence in the Bible (see Perles, *Analekten*, München 1895, p. 60; also Delitzsch, *Die Lese-und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, Berlin 1920, p. 105 ff.). The English versions render quite adequately: "Fear ye not, neither be afraid."

2.

Is. 45.2 (אישר Kre) אושר והדורים still remains unexplained. The general tendency has been to construe הדורים as a passive participle of הדר and to force it into the meaning "swelling places". The Septuagint's ὄρη led Dillman to adopt הררים. But most likely the word was originally חדורים, Arabic حدور being "slope, declivity", derived from حدر "to go down" and also "to swell".

3.

Zech. 6.6, as every commentator realizes, is defective and discrepant: verses 2-3 enumerate four chariots with four different

kinds of horses, red, black, white and spotted, and naturally the same number and order are expected in the verse before us, which states the directions in which the various horses are to go. Wellhausen's suggestion to read אל ארץ הקדם instead of the meaningless אל אחריהם is followed by most commentators, though Wellhausen realized that one chariot must have been dispatched to the west and that this is the fitting place for it. I think that the verse may be reconstructed as follows:

אשר בה
[הסוסים האדמים יוצאים אל ארץ הקדם]
הסוסים השחורים יוצאים אל ארץ צפון
והלבנים יצאו אל ארץ הים
והברדים יצאו אל ארץ התימן

The words in brackets may easily have fallen out for one reason or another. The meaningless אחריהם constitutes a corruption of ארץ הים.

4.

Ps. 8.2 אשר תנה is a long standing difficulty. Delitzsch (*Assyrische Lesestücke*[4], Leipzig 1900, p. 189a) was right in supposing that Assyrian שנה = Arabic and Hebrew תנה, Aramaic תנא, "to repeat, to announce", and suggesting its application to Jud. 5.11, 11.40 and possibly to the passage before us. Gunkel (*Ausgewählte Psalmen*, *Göttingen* 1905, p. 21), following this cue, actually reads אשר תִּנָּה (*Du, dessen Majestät verkündet wird über den Himmeln!*), though with an interrogative on account of the peculiar and unusual formation. It is more likely that the original reading was אתנה "let me announce", from which the first letter was detached erroneously and was consequently considered an abbreviation, which in turn became dissolved into אשר. For such abbreviations in the pre-masoretic text of the Bible and their wrong dissolution comp. Perles, *Analeksen*, p. 4 ff.

5.

Ps. 68.28 both רדם and רגמתם have caused considerable comment without leading to any satisfactory explanation. The prevalent opinion still derives the former from רדה "to rule"

(comp. Aquila ἐπικρατῶν αὐτῶν) and endows the latter with the meaning "heap of people", though a number of modern commentators emend it to רגשתם (רגשה = throng, see Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*, *s. v.*). However, through slight emendation and applying different etymologies the whole sentence gains proper strength and characteristic vigour, articulating very well with the preceding verses. Read:

שם בנימן צעיר רדם
שרו יהודה רנתם

and translate:

There little Benjamin twangs the bow
Judah sing their hymn.

Arabic ردم means "to twang the bow", while رنم is "to sing melodiously" and ترنيمة "recitative, hymn". שרי זבלון שרי נפתלי might then be a later addition harmonizing with שרי יהודה, as suggested by modern commentators on the basis of meter.

6.

Prov. 12.6 ארב־דם as a contrast to the parallel יצילם is evidently corrupt: יְאַבְּדֵם must have been the original reading, though none of the ancient versions point to it, unless we assume that the Septuagint's δόλιοι is a corruption from ὀλεῖ used for תאבד in 1.32 or ἀπόλεῖ used for יאבד in 29.3. It is interesting to note that all the other versions seem to have read a finite verb, possibly יארב (Aquila and Theodotion ἐνεδρεύσουσιν εἰς αἷμα, Targum and Peshitto כמנין לדמא, Vulgate *insidiantur sanguini*), which could easily be a corruption of [יאב]דם. Bearing on this point is the fact that Chajes (*Giornale della Societa Asiatica italiana*, XIX, 177) finds here a confusion of two different readings: ארבם and אבדם.

7.

Job 5.5, being a tristich in the midst of distichs, is rightly looked upon with suspicion: while the first stichos is clear enough it has always been felt by critical commentators that one of the last two stichi must be sacrificed as superabundant, and it is

usually the difficult יקחהו ואל מצנים which is eliminated (comp. *e. g.* the commentaries of Bickell and Beer *ad loc.*). This seems to me right for the reason that I detect in אל מצנים an Arabism, possibly the word المظمأ "he who burns with thirst" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1924, col. 1), of which the following צמים = צְמַיִם is the Hebrew equivalent. מ and נ interchange, especially at the end of words, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 67. It is noteworthy that the Peshitto ולצהיא took מצנים in this sense. This identification, if true, might have some bearing on the question whether the book of Job is a translation from an Arabic original.

8.

Job 5.15 וישע מחרב מפיהם is impossible not only on account of bad syntax (the transitive verb requires an object instead of the meaningless מפיהם) but also because of the following parallel ומיד חזק אביון. Many commentators eliminate מפיהם and supply instead עני as object of the verb (already Saadya exhibits الضعفى as object of וישע). I suggest the following reading, based on the masoretic consonants though a different vocalization:

וישע מָחֳרָב מפי הָם
ומיד חזק אביון

מחרב being the required object and meaning "a ruined (and therefore) impoverished person", and הם = Arabic هم, "ambitious", comp. the expression رجل هم = an ambitious man. This helps to make the parallel well-nigh perfect: מחרב || אביון and הם || חזק.

It is quite possible that the same root هم underlies the difficult word מהמהם in Ez. 7.11: همة means "purpose, intention, ambition", which suits the content here very well, only we should depart from the Masorah in reading מֵהֻמָּתָם.

9.

Job 6.7 לנגוע, on the authority of the Septuagint's *παύσασθαι*, has long since been emended to לרגוע or still better לַרְגַּע, but המה כדוי לחמי has remained a puzzle with which many exposi-

tors grappled without success. To mention but one, Duhm's explanation that this phrase was originally הֵמּוֹ כָּדִּוּ חֶלְמוֹן ("they are now egg-yolk") and constituted an Aramaic gloss to חלמות at the end of verse 6, this in turn giving rise to the supposed reading of the Septuagint המה כריח לביא, is certainly very ingenious but not true. Recently, Israel Eitan (*A Coniribution to Biblical Lexicography*, New York 1924, p. 12 f.) came near the solution of this difficulty by reading הָמָה בִּדְוֵי לְחוּמִי, "my bowels sound (hum) in suffering". But this is too prosaic and unnatural (bowels do not sound!). I believe it is better to associate המה with Arabic هَمَّ, said of a disease wasting the body, or هما "to wear out", and reading המה בדוי לחמי to translate:

My soul refused to be calm,
My flesh (or body) wasted away with disease.

10.

Job 10.8 יחד סביב yields no sense in this connexion, hence the Septuagint and the Peshitto read אחר סבות, and so most modern expositors. However, it is possible that the original reading was יחר אפך בי, which could easily have been corrupted into the present phrase. Through this emendation the verse gains considerably in vigour of contrast:

Thy hands have framed me and fashioned me,
Yet as Thy anger kindleth against me Thou destroyest me.

11.

Job 18.3 נטמינו is a veritable *crux interpretum*. According to Bickell and Beer the Septuagint's *σεσιωπήκαμην* = נדמינו, "put to silence" (comp. Ps. 49.13,21). Ibn Ganaḥ and Ibn Ezra are baffled and offer no explanation at all; on the other hand Kimhi compares it with the Talmudic טמטם and explains it as ענין סתימת הלב ואין דעת. This explanation is adopted by Dillmann and Delitzsch who, following three manuscripts, read נִטְמַנּוּ, "we are obtuse, stupid", from טמם=טמה, and is followed by most commentaries and versions. However, it was realized

by many biblical scholars that the parallel נחשבנו כבהמה required something similar here, and hence both Torczyner and Ball, in their recent commentaries, read וכבעיר נדמינו בעיניך. But no such radical change is necessary if we read simply נמטינו instead of נטמינו (easily explained through metathesis) and derive it from Arabic مطا, "to urge a beast", derived from مطية "a camel or riding-beast" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 3021, col. 3 end). In the same way בעיר gave rise to נבער. Translate the verse accordingly, in true parallelistic fashion:

Wherefore are we counted as beasts,
Considered as nags in your sight?

12.

Job 20.18 כחיל תמורתו ולא יעלס, as a parallel to משיב יגע ולא יבלע, has not yet been explained satisfactorily, in spite of numerous attempts. By departing only very slightly from the masoretic text and reading כָּח לחמורתו ולא ילעס we arrive at a very plausible solution in keeping with the exigencies of parallelism. כָּח might be a participle, like the corresponding משיב, derived from the talmudic כיח, which Jastrow in his Dictionary, p. 628, explains as onomatopoetic, meaning "to cough, to bring up mucus" (Levy, II, 313, compares Arabic كخ, Syr. כח, while Fleischer, *ibid.*, p. 451, compares German *keuchen* and renders *schnauben, sich stark räuspern und husten, um Nase und Mund von Schleim zu reinigen*); Payne-Smith (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, *col.* 1718) quotes כח *spiravit, flavit,* نسم, and then compares it with כה *exhalavit*, col. 1682. לעס is likewise Talmudic-Aramic, meaning "to chew, masticate". Reading also יִגְעוּ for יגע in accordance with the Septuagint translate the verse as follows:

He returneth his gain and swalloweth (it) not,
He vomiteth his recompense and cheweth (it) not.

Following this interpretation I am inclined to take also Job 30.18 ברב כח יתחפש לבושי in the same sense, and changing כַּח to כָּח to render the phrase appropriately "Because of the great amount of mucus (or phlegm) my garment is disfigured". Here

it is important to note that already Delitzsch suggested the reading כִּחִי "my spittle" for כֹּחִי in Ps. 22.16.

13.

Job 23.6 לא אך הוא ישם בי is quite unintelligent as a parallel to הברב כח יריב עמדי. It is not impossible that the original reading was לא, אל אדיר הוא ישם בי now standing for אל and אך having originated from אד' abbreviated for אדיר (Perles, *Analekten*, p. 4 ff.). Or does לא stand for הלא? At any rate the parallel is now complete, especially if we accept Eitan's etymology of שם "to attack in war', (*loc. cit.*, p. 60 ff.).

14.

Job 23.10 דרך עמדי is not quite smooth and clear. The Septuagint and Peshitto seem to have read דרכי ועָמְדִי, whence some commentators adopt דרך עָמְדִי or דרך עָמְדָתִי. But is it not possible that the original reading was דרך עָמְרִי "the way of my life"? Arabic عمر is "life, religion", and דרך חיים or ארח חיים are of frequent occurrence in Hebrew, comp. *e. g.* Prov. 6.23.

15.

Lam. 1.13 וַיִּרְדֶּנָּה "and it (the fire) prevailed against them (my bones)" is weak and hardly convincing. The Septuagint's *κατήγαγεν αὐτό* seems to imply יוֹרְדֶנָּה; Symmachus' *κατεπαίδευσε* (perhaps *καὶ ἐπαίδευσε*) *με*, like the Vulgate's *et erudivit me*, points to וַיּוֹרֵנִי. In B. Sanh. 104b this word receives the sense of "burn", whence Rashi ושרף אותה; but this is apparently a mere guess, since there is no such root with this meaning. Modern solutions, such as Budde וַיִּרְדֶּה, Bickell וַיִּרְדְּנָה, Löhr יוֹרֶנָּה "shoots it", are not much better. It seems to me that by reading וַיִּרְדְּנָה (Aramaic דרא, Arabic ذرى) "and he scattered them" we gain good sense, comp. Ez. 6.5 וזריתי את עצמותיכם, Ps. 53.6

פזר עצמות חנך, and *ibid.* 141.7 נפזרו עצמינו לפי שאול. That this may have been the original reading is proved by Aquila's דרא אתין found in the Syro-Hexapla, which Field appropriately renders ἐλίκμησεν αὐτά. Moreover, the Midrash Rabba *ad loc.* translates the word by נסחא or נסחה "remove, scatter". Finally, to avoid an Aramaism, we might even assume the form וַיִּזְרֻנָּה, ד and ז being easily interchanged in the square script.

16.

Eccl. 2.3 the anomalous form למשוך, where we might expect either למשוח or לסוך, may be due to a conflation of both these words which floated simultaneously in the mind of the scribe. Such conflate readings are not rare in the Scriptures, as may be seen from תבואתה Deut. 33.16, which Perles (*Analekten*, II, 110) rightly explains as a combination of Hebrew תבוא and its Aramaic equivalent תאתה, similarly תבואתך Job 22.21 (*ibid.*, p. 111), and ואשאר Ez. 9.8 which appears to me a conflation of וְנִשְׁאָר and וְאֶשָּׁאֵר.

17.

Dan. 12.7 וככלות נפץ יד עם קדש is evidently corrupt. The Septuagint tried to get out of the difficulty by reading וככלות יד נפץ, which is adopted by all modern expositors. I think, however, that we get a much superior text by introducing a slight emendation and reading וככלות נפץ וְרֹעַ עם קדש, comp. Ps. 2.9 תנפצם... תרעם. ורע could easily have been corrupted to יד, the ע being absorbed by the following עם through haplography.

THE REWARDING AND PUNISHING OF ANIMALS AND INANIMATE OBJECTS

On the Aggadic View of the World

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THE MUTA'ZILITIC ḲALĀM teaches that animals are just as subject to retribution as are human beings.[1] This doctrine found adherents likewise among the Rabbanites[2] and the Ḳara-

[1] Cp. *infra* the citation from Maimonides and the notes thereto.

[2] R. Sa'adya Gaon: "Some one perhaps might be lead to a hasty conclusion on account of the sacrificial law, whether it be with regard to the slaughtering of the beast or to the burning of the blood and of the fat. Therefore I shall make the following observations in order to clarify the subject. The Creator has decreed death over all the living creatures. He has determined for each human being the measure of the duration of his life. But, He has set the limit of the duration of the life of the animals at the time when they are slaughtered, so that the slaughtering take the place of the natural death. *However, inasmuch as slaughtering is supposed to cause a greater pain than does natural death, God is cognizant of his fact and will grant unto them as compensation for the suffering a corresponding measure of requital.* We deduce this affirmation, in the event that such a measure of pain should be able to be verified, *on the ground of our reason*, and not on the basis of any prophetic revelation at all." Emunot III, near the end, Arabic text, p. 141 f.

This same view is to be found also among other Geonim. "We are of the opinion that all living creatures, the slaughtering and the killing of which God has permitted, have a reward which they may expect"—Gaonic Responsa, ed, Harkavy No. 375, p. 191. The responsum is an answer to questions of the people of *Kairuan* in the year 1303 Sel. =991-992 C. E. The respondent is therefore *Sherira*. Cp. also Mueller, *Mafteaḥ*, 196, No. 180, and Poznanski, אנשי קירואן, p. 7. Harkavy, חדשים גם ישנים, No. 7, p. 7, erroneously ascribes the responsum to R. Hai. This same error is also found in Kaufmann, in the glosses to מנחת קנאות, p. 47, note 7.

In the "Fragment of a Treatise on the Names and Attributes of God" (published by Goldziher, *Harkavy-Festschrift*) the question of the suffering of children and of the slaughtering of animals is touched upon (כמא ימרץ אלאטפאל ויסקמהם ויביח דביחה אלבהאים, p. 112). There is no answer given to this question, but it can be definitely assumed that this answer was in the Muta'-

ites.[3] Other Jewish scholars, on the other hand, emphatically

zila sense, inasmuch as the composer is a Muta'zilite through and through Cp. Goldziher l. c., p. 95-98. The author of this tractate was a contemporary, and perhaps also a countryman, of the last Gaonim (ibid., pp. 98 and 100).

Among the ranks of the later authors we find this view with R. Nissim, quoted in Abarbanel to Gen. 9 : 5. Then we find this view with R. Moses Ḥefeṣ (Gentili) in his מלאכת מחשבת to Gen. 8 : 2, ed. Jafo, 35 a ff. R. Ḥefeṣ polemizes against Maimonides and refers to the Aggadah. He is of the opinion that the proofs found in the traditional literature are "more than grasshoppers", but he cites only two passages. In the works of R. Menaḥem 'Azariah from Fano we find the following ideas: Before the deluge the eating of meat was forbidden to man. However, after the animals had sinned, they were permitted. At the revelation on Sinai there was taken away from Israel and from a part of the animals the uncleanness which originated from the serpent, whereas all the other animals remained in their uncleanness. For this reason these animals are not permitted to be eaten by Israel. עשרה מאמרות, Section חקור דין, II, Ch. 17, at the end.

A glimpse of the conception of the requital of animals appears likewise in the following observation of Joseph ibn Kaspi, to I S. 6 : 15 (Adne Keseph, ed. Last, p. 14):

ואולם אין לתמה כי גם הכה ה' בפרות, ר"ל שכבר מחו, ואם היו צדיקות, כי כתב עליהן לה'.

And now with regard to R. Sa'adya, we find in his answers to the questions of Ḥiwi al-Balkhi that he replies to the question why at the time of the deluge the other creatures too perished together with the human beings: "The earth and all that is upon it was created for man. When therefore man perished, then everything else lost its purpose for existence" (*Saadia's Polemic Against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi*, ed. Davidson, p. 52, No. 25 = Poznanski חשובות רב סעדיה, p. 25, No. 11.). The same answer is given by the Aggadah. Cp. Aptowitzer, *M. G. W. J.*, 1920, p. 74. In this passage Sa'adya knows nothing of rewarding the animals that had perished innocently. This explains why in his polemic against Ḥiwi Sa'adya does not touch at all upon the question regarding the slaughtering of the animals. Cp. Davidson, p. 54, No. 28; Poznanski, p. 26, No. 13; cp. also Poznanski, p. 8, for the quotation from Salman ben Jeroḥam's Commentary to Ecclesiastes. Therefore, it was not until a later period that Sa'adya became acquainted with the view of the Muta'zila and accepted it.

This same thing he did also with reference to the question of children, of which he had no occasion to speak in Section III. He speaks of the requital of children in Emunot, V, 3; VI, 8; and VIII, 2.

The doctrine of the requital of children is found also with R. Nissim ben Jacob. Cp. *Sepher Ḥasidim*, No. 605, ed. Wistinecki, No. 32, p. 30. See also Goldziher, *R. E. J.*, XLVII, p. 180; Poznanski in *Hazofeh*, ed. Blau, V, p. 299. On this subject cp. furthermore R. Menaḥem Azariah of Fano, עשרה מאמרות, Section חקור דין, II, ch. 23, at the end.

[3] Joseph al-Baṣir, Yehuda Hadassi (*Eshkol ha-Kofer*, Sec. 30, 20 c);

reject this teaching as contrary to reason.[4] These are the facts of the problem which we are about to discuss. That which interests us is not the problem *per se*, but the question as to the attitude which Rabbinic Judaism adopts towards this teaching.

The Rabbanite opponents of this doctrine maintain that the Jewish sages do not mention this teaching, and that no trace of this idea, so contrary to reason, is to be found in Talmudic literature. The first one to establish this assertion was Maimonides, and he was followed by others. Now, of course, Maimonides is an authority before whom we all bow the head, and yet in this case too there is applicable the sentence, "Love Socrates, love Plato, but love the truth more than both of them". Whether the teaching of the Muta'zila be void or absurd is a problem just like so many other theological questions, the deciding of which we must leave over to the prophet Elijah. But the statement of Maimonides and of his followers on the matter can be examined by us too. As a matter of fact, investigation has shown that this teaching of the Ḳalām, so vigorously opposed by Maimonides, is a very wide-spread view of the Aggadah, which finds its expression in numerous utterances, narratives, and fancies.

Of the numerous later authors who treat our subject,[5]

Israel al-Magribi, "Schlachtregeln", Chaps. I and IX (*Dod Mordekhai*, 34 b and 36 a); and others. Cp. Steinschneider, *Polemische Literatur*, p. 337; Munk, *Guide*, III, p. 128; Schreiner, *Der Kalam*, p. 35; *Ha-Ḥoḳer*, I. p. 107.

[4] Cp. Joseph ibn Ṣaddiḳ, *Mikrokosmos*, ed. Horowitz, p. 72 ff. Jeda'yah Ha- Penini, in his "Apologetic Letter" (כתב ההתנצלות, Responsa of S. ben Adret, N. 418, Bologna 1539, 80 d). Cp. further Naḥmanides and Abarbanel to Gen. 9 : 5. Jeḥiel b. Samuel of Pisa expresses his opposition to this teaching with especial violence (*Minḥat Kenaot*, ed. Kaufmann, p. 46 f).

The following are Ḳaraite opponents of the Muta'zila: Aaron b. Elijah, cp. *Gan 'Eden*, 91b, and *'Eṣ Ḥayyim*, Chap. 89, 135b f.; Elijah Bashjazzi, *Aderet Eliyahu*, ענין שחיטה, ch. 13, 116 b, *Dod Mordekhai*, 31 a. Still other Ḳaraite opponents are to be found in Geiger, *Juedische Zeitschrift*, II (1836), p. 116.

[5] Geiger, *Jued. Zeitschrift*, II, (1836), p. 116; M. Sider, *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1841, p. 331, note 5; Steinschneider, Frankel's *Zeitschrift fuer die religioesen Interessen des Judentums*", III, p. 404; *Polemische Literatur*, p. 337; Schmiedel, *Monatsschrift*, 1861, p. 182, *Studien zur juedischen Religionsphilosophie*, p. 165 (1869); Munk, *Guide*, III, p. 128, note; Lauterbach, *Ha-Maggid*, XXII, 78 b; Commentary שביל אמונה, in Emunoth, ed. Jozefof, 1885; Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadjah*, p. 31, note 1; *Die Philosophie des*

three[6] made reference to the Aggadah, but in an extremely faulty manner. Two of these[7] refer to three and two sentences from the Aggadah respectively, whereas the third[7a] knows of only a single utterance from the Aggadah and is of the opinion that the opponents of the Muta'zila teaching, who, could not possibly have made light of the Aggadah, did not have that sentence in their texts. Now as far as Maimonides is concerned, this argument is worthless, inasmuch as Maimonides is not always an unconditional adherent of the Aggadah, and often either rejects its views directly[8] or tries to interpret them.[9] It is also easily possible that Maimonides may have overlooked a single statement of the Aggadah. And yet we are not concerned here, as stated before, merely with a single Aggadic utterance, but with a wide-spread opinion which finds itself expressed not only in the Aggadah, but also in some passages of the Halakha.

From retribution there follows necessarily individual providence (השגחה פרטית) for animals. This follows also from the numerous utterances and stories of the Aggadah, in which not merely the animals in general, but also *particular animals in particular cases* appear as the executors of punishments or of rewards which had been decreed by Heaven.[10] And then it is

Salomon ibn Gabirol, p. 183; *Moses ben Maimon*, II., p. 204 ff., and in *Israel Levy-Festschrift*, p. 312 ff; Schreiner, *Der Kalam in der juedischen Literatur*, pp. 29, 32, 35; Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre*, p. 503, Glosses to Minḥat Ḳenaot, p. 46, note 7; Harkavy, חדשים גם ישנים, No. 7, p. 7; Wistinecki, *Ha-Ḥoḳer*, I, p. 107; Goldziher, *R. E. J.*, XLVII, 180; Ginzberg, *R. E. J.*, 1914, p. 148; Schorr, *He-Ḥaluṣ*, XIII, p. 56 f.

[6] Lauterbach, Wistinecki, and Ginzberg, in the passages quoted above.

[7] Wistinecki; the passages are given by us in number 1 and 37. Cp. likewise number 29, at the end. Ginzberg; the passages are given by us in notes 1, 13 and 27a.

[7a] Lauterbach; the passage is found in our number 14.

[8] In connection with our problem itself Maimonides rejects the Aggadic doctrine of the "sufferings because of love". Cp. also, e. g., *Moreh*, II, 26, 30; III, 26. It will suffice, however, to point out the fact that Maimonides denies the existence of demons, which nonetheless play so great a role in the Aggadah. Cp. Finkelscherer, *Moses Maimunis Stellung zum Aberglauben und zur Mystik*, p. 40 ff., and also Bacher, *Die Agada in Maimunis Werken, Moses b. Maimon*, Vol. II, p. 134.

[9] Cp. also Bacher, ibid., passim.

[10] Cp. on this subject Aptowitzer, *M. G. W. J.*, LXIV, p. 309-312.

expressly stated in another passage that even a bird does not perish without heavenly determination.[11] Maimonides, however, maintains that animals are subject to Providence only with reference to their propagation.[12] For this question Maimonides quotes some sentences from traditional literature which are contrary to his opinion, and then discusses them.[13] But in connection with our problem, he does not adopt this procedure, as stated above.

The passage from Maimonides, under discussion, which is likewise the most detailed presentation of the teaching of the Ḳalām in question, reads as follows:

"When some one asked them (the Muta'zila): 'Why is God just only towards human beings, and not likewise towards the other creatures, and because of what sins is this animal here being slaughtered?', they took refuge in the strange subterfuge that

[11] R. Simon ben Jochai was sitting at the entrance of the cave and observing a hunter in the act of catching birds. He spread his net out. Thereupon there was heard a heavenly voice, which cried out "*δῆμος*!" and the bird was rescued. Again the hunter spread out his net. A heavenly voice called out, "spicula!" and the bird was caught. Thereupon R. Simon said, "Even a bird . . . . etc." Yer. Shebi'it, IX, 38 d; Gen. R. LXXIX, 6; Pesiḳta, ed. Buber, 88 b; Ḳohelet R. to X, 8; Esther R. to I, 9. L. N. Bass has already referred to the passage in Yer. in כנסת הגדולה, ed. Suwalki, II, p. 60. However, I now make the observation that Recanati, to Deut. 22: 6, has already employed the utterance of R. Simon and likewise a text from the Tanḥuma, which is found *infra*, number 37, as a valid argument against Maimonides, but he attempts also to explain the passages in such a way as not to make them contradict Maimonides: In the narrative of R. Simon it was the *angels* placed over the birds from whom the decrees originated. Cp. *infra*, note 70.

The following sentence from the Gospels may be compared with the statement of R. Simon: "Two sparrows are sold for one farthing, and one of them shall not fall to the ground without (a decree of) your Father", Matthew 10 : 29. Cp. Luke 12 : 6. On the other hand, Paul asks "whether therefore God cares for the bulls", *μὴ τῶν βόων μέλει τῷ θεῷ*. I. Cor. 9 : 9. Cp. in addition Aptowitzer, *M. G. W. J.*, 1913, p. 17 f.

[12] The detailed statement of Maimonides bearing on this point may be found literally, but without any statement of the source, in Baḥyah b. Asher, *Kad Ha-Ḳemaḥ*, voce "Hashgaḥah". Cp. on the subject Aptowitzer, l. c.

[13] L. N. Bass, כנסת הגדולה, II, p. 60, remarks that Maimonides for his opinion refers to the Aggadic interpretation of Ḥabaḳḳuḳ 1 : 14 (the sentence in 'Abodah Zara, 3b is the one meant). But no trace of this is to be found in the *Moreh*, nor in Baḥyah b. Asher, l. c.

it is better thus for the animal, in order that God in return may grant it requital in another life. Indeed, even the killing of a flea or of a louse should render a requital on the part of God necessary, and likewise if the innocent mouse is torn to pieces by a cat or by a sparrow-hawk, they say that the divine wisdom has decreed this fate for the mouse, and that God will grant it requital therefore in the other life.[14] . . . . . Now with regard

[14] Cp. moreover Joseph ibn Ṣaddiḳ, *Microcosmos*, ed. Horowitz, p. 72 ff.; Aaron b. Elijah, *'Eṣ Ḥayyim*, ch. 89, 135 ff.; Schreiner, *Der Kalam*, pp. 29, 32, 35; Frankl, *Ein mutazilitischer Kalam*, 40:42; Guttmann, *Levy-Festschrift*, p. 313. Cp. further, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen ueber den Islam*, p. 105.

Whereas the Muta'zila Ḳalām in all sources speaks merely of the *rewarding* of the animals, Mohammedan traditions speak also of *punishing* the animals:

"We came in unto Abū-Dor. Thereupon I heard him say: By Him in whose hand my soul is, verily, the sheep will be questioned for having pushed its comrades, and the stone for having bruised the finger of a human being." Cp. Leszynski, *Mohammedanische Traditionen*, p. 74.

Further: "By Him in whose hand my soul is, even two sheep will quarrel with one another about having pushed each other with its horns." Leszynski, l. c., p. 73, who incorrectly takes the word "sheep" in a figurative sense as meaning "human beings."

"Hereupon God passes sentence on the wild animals and on the cattle, in such a way that He punishes the horned ones for the sufferings inflicted on the unhorned ones. Then He speaks to the wild animals and to the cattle, 'Become dust!' And with this the unbelievers cry out, 'O would that we were dust.' " Mukātil says: "Ten animals enter into Paradise, and these are they: Sāliḥ's she-camel, Abraham's calf, Ishmael's ram, Moses' ox, Jonah's fish, 'Uzeir's ass, Solomon's ant, the hoopoo of Bilki, the she-camel of Mohammed, and the dog of the companions of the cave (sleepers), which God allows to enter into Paradise, after He has given it the form of the ram." *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 140. Cp. also on this belief of the Mohammedans Wolff, l. c., note, and Morfill-Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 74a, note. The subject of animals in Paradise is mentioned again *infra*, note 39.

" Alī ibn Abi Tālib, may God be gracious unto him, says: The believers, when they are resurrected, will ride on their magnificent camels. When the day of the resurrection has drawn near, then God says to the angels: Do not allow my servants to walk, but let them ride on stately camels, because they have accustomed themselves to riding while they were in the world. First, the backbone of their father was the place of their motion, then the womb of their mother for nine months, and even at the time when their mother had born them, the bosom of their mother further during the space of two years for the purpose of giving them suck. Then, when they had been brought up,

to the problem of retribution for irrational creatures, nothing was heard of this in our faith in the olden times, and the *teachers*

the neck of their father; later on horses, mules, and asses in the open field and ships upon the seas; furthermore, after they had died, the neck of their brothers, and now that they have been resurrected from the grave, do not allow them to go on foot, since they are accustomed to being carried, and are unable to walk. Therefore lead out before them their (those which are appointed for them) camels, and they are the sacrificial lambs which are offered up on the forenoon of the sacrificial festival, so that they may ride upon them and thus present themselves before the Lord. And thus reads an utterance of the prophet: 'Hold in honor your sacrificial lambs, because on the day of the resurrection they will carry you across the bridge of hell'". *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 122.

On the subject of this detailed narrative compare Sa'adya's remark in Emunot, Introduction, ch. 6 : "Ignorant people in Arabia are of the belief that in case, at the death of a Mohammedan, his camel is not slaughtered over his grave, he will have to go on foot."

וכאשר אומרים על קצת עמי הארץ שבערב שהם סוברים שמי שמת מהם ולא ישחטו גמלו על קברו יביאוהו ליום הדין רגלי:

On the point of the two-year period of sucking cp. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel*, pp. 96, 100.

"Burak, however, is the first of all the animals which God restores to life. Then God speaks to them: Caparison it! And they attire it with a saddle adorned with red hyacinth and with a bridle of green emerald." *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 99. (Burak is the animal upon which Mohammed will ride on the day of the resurrection.) Koran, XXIV, 35, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 101.

"However, in the tradition regarding the prophet it is said: The end of the life of all animals depends upon the thought of God. If now they neglect this, God calls their spirits away." *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Ch. IV, p. 28. Cp. also *infra*, note 55.

The idea that the animals come to be resurrected is found also in a more recent Aggadic work: "When God renews His world, He himself takes charge of the work of the renewal. He arranges all the regulations of the last ones, those of the future world . . . . the order of each and every generation, creature, animal, bird . . . . I kill, and I make alive (Deut. 32 : 39). I have caused all human beings and all creatures to die in this world, and I shall restore unto them spirit and soul and shall revive them in the future world." *Alphabet of R. 'Akiba, Beth ha-Midrash*, III, 16, ed. Wertheimer, p. 7 f.

אלא מלמד שכשמחדש הקב"ה את העולם הקב"ה עומד בעצמו ומחדש ומסדר סדרן של אחרונים של עולם הבא. . . . סדרן של דור ודור, וכל בריה ובריה, וכל חיה וחיה, וכל עוף ועוף, וכל נשמה ונשמה. . . . . אני אמית ואחיה, אני הוא שאמית כל בני אדם וכל הבריות בעולם הזה, ואני הוא שאחזיר להם רוח ונשמה ומחיה אותם לעולם הבא:

The *Pure Brothers* teach that the slaughtering of the animals as sacrifices,

of the Talmud likewise mention nothing thereof.[15] Only, several of the *later teachers among the Geonim*[16] took this teaching over

their sufferings in the service of human beings, have primarily as their object the raising of their souls to a higher level of being, i. e., to the degree of the human soul. Cp. Horowitz, *Die Psychologie bei den juedischen Religionsphilosophen*, III, 160, note 40 (*Jahresbericht*, Breslau, 1906).

The doctrine of the Muta'zila in question serves, as it is clearly manifest from all the sources, as an answer to the following question: How is the suffering of the innocent to be harmonized with the absolute justice of God It is therefore an error on the part of Schmiedl when he maintains that this doctrine of the Muta'zila is connected with the belief in the transmigration of the soul. Cp. Schmiedl, *M. G. W. J.*, 1861, p. 182, and *Studien zur juedischen Religionsphilosophie*, p. 165. The fact is that the adherents of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul combat the assumption of rewarding the animals, and, vice versa, the adherents of this latter view reduce ad absurdum the belief in the transmigration of the soul. Cp. Schreiner, l. c., pp. 30 and 66; Frankl, l. c., p. 40 f. We see likewise that Sa'adya, who combats the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul most resolutely (cp. Emunot, Section VI), accepts the doctrine of the Muta'zila with regard to the requital of animals.

[15] Sa'adya, too, is of this opinion, because he expressly remarks that he has derived this view on the ground of his own reason, and not through prophetic revelation. Cp. above, note 2. On the contrary, however, Sherira makes reference to the Aggadah [ויקיפא לן שאין הקב"ה מקפח שכר כל בריה. I refer to the passages found in numbers 1 and 2, which escaped the notice of Harkavy in his Glosses, p. 373.

[16] Munk, on this passage, p. 128, note 4, remarks that he did not find this doctrine either in Sa'adya or in others of the Geonim. But, other investigators refer one to Sa'adya (above, note 2). Among those who do so are Sider, Steinschneider, Guttmann, Kaufmann, Schreiner, and Wistinecki. Probably also already *Levi ben Ḥayyim*, who says with reference to Sa'adya, that he follows the Muta'zila in the question of providence. Cp. Geiger, *He-Ḥaluṣ*, II, p. 20 (= Poznanski, קבוצת מאמרים, p. 266). Ginzberg (*R. E. J.*, LXVIII, p. 148) refers one to Wistinecki.

Recently A. Kaminka, *Ha-Jarden*, IV, (Zurich, 1922) p. 1 ff., has made the attempt to substantiate and vindicate Munk's observation, inasmuch as he believes that Sa'adya's remark is not covered by the doctrine of the Muta'zila. A similar statement was made previously already by the Commentator of שביל אמונה. But this is a case of squeezing syllables to too great a degree. Moreover Kaminka does not concern himself at all with the question as to who those Geonim are of whom Maimonides was thinking. Schorr, *He-Ḥaluṣ*, XIII, p. 56 f., is of the opinion that Maimonides' observation in the Moreh was directed against Sherira. However, the probability is that Maimonides was thinking *also* of Sherira's responsum, the contents of which fit in admirably with the wording of the text in the Moreh. The fact, however, that

from the Muta'zila and adhered to it."[17]

It is strange that in this passage Maimonides does not mention *children* at all, while on the contrary the Muta'zila sources speak of children *and* animals; indeed, as a rule they proceed from the children and mention the animals only secondarily.[17a] This question too is decided in the traditional literature. Thus, as early as at the beginning of the second century, we find a controversy between R. Gamaliel and R. Joshua or R. 'Aḳiba on the following subject, whether the children of Jewish idol-worshippers have a share in the future life,[18] from which it follows that a

Maimonides does not pay any attention to the utterance of the rabbis cited by the Gaon would be explained on the ground that he was thinking of the passage in Nazir 23 b, B. Kamma 38 b, and Horayot 10 b, in which passage, however, the discussion is concerned with human beings and which, therefore, proves nothing for the assertion of the Gaon. This will perhaps also explain why Maimonides emphasizes the point that the sages of the *Talmud* mention nothing of the doctrine in question.

[17] *Moreh*, III, 17, Views 4-5:

שנאמר להם ולמה ישר השם משפטיו באדם ולא ישרם בזולתו ובאי זה חטא נשחט החי הזה הבלתי מדבר. וסבלו מן ההרחקה שאמרו שזה היה הטוב לו עד שיגמלהו השם בעולם הבא, עד שהריגת הפרעוש והכינה יתחייב שיהיה להם בעבורה גמול מאת השם, וכן זה העכבר בלתי אשם אשר טרפו חתול או נץ אמרו שכן נזרה חכמתו בחק זה העכבר, והוא יגמלהו על שקרה אותו בעולם הבא. . . . . אמנם עניין זה הגמול לבעל חיים שאינו מדבר לא נשמע כלל באמונתינו לפנים, וגם חכמי התלמוד לא זכרוהו כלל, אבל קצת האחרונים מן הגאונים ז"ל כאשר שמעוהו מכת המעתזילה ישר בעיניהם והאמינוהו:

Ḳalonymos remarks, משרת משה, ed. Goldental, p. 119:

האחת אמרה כי הגמול והעונש לכל בעל חי שאם יטרוף הארי בהמה או יבלע צפור או זבוב יענש. ואלה הם כת המעתזילה . . . . . והכת האחרת החמישית היא דעת תורתנו ואמ' כי אין גמול ועונש כי אם במין האדם לבדו לפי שבו שכל להבחין בין טוב לרע:

[17a] In addition, the following Mohammedan tradition may be quoted:

"And Ridwān calls out: O ye youths and ye children, who have not yet attained unto intelligence, come! Then they come in veils of light, and gather themselves near him, more numerous than the dust, the rain-drops, the stars of the heaven, and the leaves of the trees, with a great quantity of fruits, fat meats, and sweet beverages. And when the angels meet them, they give them this to eat and say unto them: Eat and drink, and may it be well with you, in return for what in the days gone by ye have been afflicted." *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 116 f.

Among the *Pure Brothers* there is a saying: "The souls of the children and of those who are possessed escape (the punishment of hell), through the grace of God, at the intercession of the fathers, mothers, prophets, envoys." Cp. Dieterici, *Die Anthropologie der Araber*, p. 98.

[18] Tos. Sanh. XIII, 1; Babli 110 b; Mid. Ps. 22, Par. 32; Kallah Rabati,

portion in the future world is assured to the children of pious parents. This assumption having been assumed as self-understood, the teachers of the third century and subsequent thereto disagree merely with regard to the age when children become entitled to a share in the future life.[19] Furthermore, in another passage it is stated that *Metatron* and even God Himself instruct the children.[20] This idea is further developed in the mystic literature of the time of the Geonim, and the glory in store for the children in Paradise is related in an affectingly beautiful poetical manner.[21]

Ch. 2. Cp. especially Ḳoheleth R., IV, at the beginning.

[19] Sanh., l. c.; Yer. Shebi'it, IV, 35 c. end; Mid. Ps., l. c. Cp. Kallah Rabati, l. c.

[20] 'Abodah Zarah 3b.

[21] *Alphabet of R. 'Akiba*, ed. Wertheimer, p. 11, *Beth ha-Midrash* II, p. 115:

ולא עוד אלא שבכל יום ויום יושב מטטרון שלש שעות בשמי מרום וכונס 'את כל הנשמות של עוברין שמתו במעי אמן ושל ינקי שדים שמתו על שדי אמן ושל תינוקות של בית רבן שמתו על חומשי תורה ומביא אותן תחת כסא הכבוד ומושיבן כתות כתות וחבורות חבורות ואגודות אגודות סביבות פניו ומלמדן תורה וחכמה הגדה ושמועה ומסיים להן ספר תורה, שנאמר את מי יורה דעה ואת מי יבין שמועה גמולי מחלב עתיקי משדים (ישעיהו כח, ט):

Cp. further Alphabet, l. c., p. 113-116, and *Beth ha-Midrash*, III, 134 f.

In contrast with these friendly, lovely pictures, which were painted by the phantasy of a loving poet, the following sentences, written in a pessimistic, gloomy mood, display a toilsome, tormented feeling:

"The punishments in the grave go still further than the punishments in hell. In hell only adults from the age of twenty years and upwards are punished, but not even the righteous are spared from the sufferings of the grave. Even sucklings which have been weaned, also sucklings, indeed, even נפלים, are afflicted with them." *Beth ha-Midrash*, III, 151:

אר'מ משום ר'א קשה יום הדין שהקב'ה דן את האדם בקבר יותר מדין של גיהנם. דין גיהנם מעשרים שנה, אבל דין הקבר אפילו צדיקים נדונים בו, אפילו גמולי חלב, אפילו ינקי שדים נדונים בו, אפילו נפלים נדונים בה.

By נפלים there are perhaps to be understood children which have not survived their thirtieth day, in accordance with the well-known statement of R. Simon ben Gamaliel, who regards such children as miscarriages (נפל), Tosefta Sabbat, XVI (XV) 7; Sabbath 135 b; Yebamot 80 b; Niddah 44 b; Yer. Yeb. XI, end 12 b. above. Cp. also Aptowitzer, *Ha-Zofeh*, ed. Blau, VII, 90, and note 8. However, it is more probable that by the term "נפלים" "embryos which have died in the womb of their mother" are to be understood, as in the Alphabet of R. 'Akiba: עוברין שמתו במעי אמן. With reference to the problem of the endowment of the embryo with a soul and with reason, cp. Aptowitzer, "Observations of the Criminal Law of the Jews," V (*J. Q. R.*,

This view probably explains likewise the Gaonic custom of circumcising in the cemetery children who had died before their circumcision[22] "so that the disgrace of the uncircumcised should not enter in with it," or, as it is stated more clearly in another source,[23] "in order that they should be protected from the fire of hell and should come into Paradise".

NS, XV, 85 ff.), and also Aptowitzer, Ha- Zofeh, VII, 91.

[22] שערי צדק, 22a, No. 5; *Iṭṭur* II, ed. Lemberg, 21d; *Temim De'im*, No. 171; *Torat Haadam*, Treatise Hesped, 28c, and the passage quoted from there in Asheri Mo'ed Ḳaton III, No. 88. *Shibole Ha-leket*, Mila, No. 1, 185b, end; *Orḥot Ḥayyim* II, 11. Cp. the responsum of R. Natan ben Jeḥiel and of his brothers in *Or Zaru'a* II, 52 d, No. 104. Likewise in *Kelale ha-Milah* of R. Gershom ha-Gozer (in A. J. Glasberg, *Sichron Berith la-Rishonim*, p. 126 f.), *Yoreh De'ah*, 263. More recent literature will be found in Glasberg's notes, l. c. and p. 93. The Gaon is R. Naḥshon. In Glasberg both passages erroneously have the reading: "R. Hai", who really polemizes against this custom. Cp. *Or Zarua*, l. c. and also *Sekhel Tob*, I., p. 18.

[23] *Kelale ha-Milah* of R. Jacob ha-Gozer, l. c., p. 92 f.—Ibn Ezra to Gen. 17 : 14 : "The heretics (those who go astray in their belief) maintain that a child which dies before its circumcision has not a share in the future life":

והטועים יחשבו כי אם מת הנער ולא נמול אין לו חלק לעוה'ב.

Thus the opinion of R. Jacob Ha-gozer. However, it can not be ascertained who the "heretics" (those who err—הטועים) are. This view is not found among the Ḳaraites. On the contrary, they emphasize the fact explicitly and with their usual prolixity that the punishment does not touch the child. Cp. Aaron ben Elijah. Nicomediensis, *Keter Torah*, I, 47 b; *Gan 'Eden*, 163 b, f.; Elijah Bashjazzi, *Aderet Eliyahu*, 168 b, f.

This view which is designated by Ibn Ezra as heretical will solve an old literary riddle. LXX translates Gen. 17 : 14 as follows: "He who was not circumcised in the foreskin of his flesh (*on the eighth day*), that soul shall be cut off from its people": *καὶ ἀπερίτμητος ἄρστην, ὃς οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐξολεθρεθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς.*

This strange addition of the Greek text caused even the ancient Hellenistic exegetes brain-racking. Thus Philo proposes the question: If the child has not been circumcised on the eighth day, of what sin is it guilty that it should be punished with death? And he quotes two older explanations. The first one: the punishment befalls the parents of the child. The second explanation admits of two interpretations: (1) The punishment befalls the child when it has grown up. (2) Death, it is true, strikes the child, but as a punishment for the parents:

"Octavo igitur die post nativitatem puer si non circumcidetur, quid ipse peccabit, ut poenam mortis quoque luere teneatur? Dixerint igitur aliqui,

And now we come to our subject proper, to the presentation of the Aggadic view.

On the ground of a great number of Aggadic utterances, narratives and fancies, the following view results: the physical world of the animals, plants and inanimate objects feels and thinks; the physical cosmos is endowed with life, with a soul, and with the power of reason. The tree fills the world with its cry of pain, when the axe is set to it; the hard, cold, dead marble knows to divide itself, when this splitting serves a higher purpose. Nothing is inanimate, nothing is without life and soul, *πάντα ζώει, πάντα νόει*. Moreover, a separate Aggadic work is

formam edicti annuere parentes ipsos, illos enim putant despexisse mandatum legis. Alii vero, nimium excessum aiunt usurpans super infantes ut videtur imposuit, ut adulti dissolventes legem irrevocabili modo subiiciantur poenae severissimae."—Philo, *Quaestiones*, III, Par. 52.

But these explanations naturally do not suffice. Therefore Origenes (*Philocalia*, c. 1) expresses as his opinion that the Scripture has likewise a mystical sense, and that this passage is to be understood from a mystical point of view. Cp. Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss*, p. 61, note f. Origenes hit upon the correct explanation, for as a matter of fact this striking addition to the text can be explained only on the basis of the view to which we have been introduced.

The Samaritan Pentateuch took over the Greek addition. Cp. Frankel, l. c., S. Kohn, *De Pentateucho Samaritano*, p. 55.

But others did not think the same as did Origenes, and for this reason, corresponding to the first explanation quoted by Philo, they changed the form "*περιτμηθήσεται*" into the active "*περιτέμνει*", with the remark that the Hebrew text expresses "*μὴ περιτέμνων*". In addition, too, there is quoted in the name of Eusebius: "*οὐ γὰρ τὸ νήπιον δεῖ περὶ τούτου κολάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτούς (τοὺς) γονεῖς.*" "For not the child ought to be punished, but its parents." See Field, *Hexapla*, I, 33 b.

However, it was an act of imprudence on the part of Frankel to characterize the addition of the Septuagint in question as "nonsense". The conception from which that addition has its source is the prevailing view in the traditional literature also. In the oldest rabbinical sources we find the following thought: "The great importance of circumcision can be learned from the fact that even Moses came very near to being punished by death because he was lazy, if only for a *short time*, in the carrying out of the commandment regarding circumcision." A similar statement is found already in the *Mishna*, Nedarim, III, at the end; Mekhilta יתרו, I; Nedarim 32 a; Yer. ibid. III, at the end of 38 b; Exodus R. V., 8:

בא וראה כמה גדולה מילה שכל זכיותיו של משה לא עמדו לו בשעת דחקו כשאמר לו המקום

devoted to this view, the Pereḳ Shirah,[24] in which every living object, every tree, every river, every stone sings a hymn to its Creator.

This view finds its expression especially in the following two main ideas: (1) the participation of the physical world in the destinies of man, and (2) the rewarding and punishing of animals and inanimate objects. The first idea I have treated in another

לך הוצא את עמי בני ישראל ממצרים ועל שנתעצל במילה שעה אחת בקש המלאך להרגו שנאמר ויהי בדרך במלון (שמות ד' כד'):

Since mention is made of laziness on the part of Moses merely for a *short* time, therefore it refers only to the second son of Moses, who was born on the way from Midian to Egypt and there became eight days old. Cp. Pseudo-Rashi Nedarim 32 a above, Ibn Ezra and Naḥmanides to Ex. 4 : 20 and 24. This is therefore exactly the conception of LXX and in accordance with the first explanation quoted by Philo. In the Aggadah, however, we find the view represented that not Moses, but the child, was threatened with death—just like the second explanation quoted by Philo. This is the view of Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel:

רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר לא בקש המלאך להרוג את משה אלא לתינוק:

Thus then is the prevailing view in the Aggadah. There occurs likewise the view that the question is concerned with the first son of Moses, who therefore had remained uncircumcised for a longer period. Mekhilta, l. c.; Jonathan to Ex. 4 : 24.

As far as the Halakha is concerned, nothing is found on this point in the Talmudic sources, and it is not until the time of the mediaeval authors that the question as to when the punishment of Karet is to be imposed comes to form a problem, indeed, an unsolvable problem. Cp. Maimonides and RabD, מילה, I, 3; Tosaphot Makkot 14 a, voce לאפוקי, and Ḥinnukh, No. 2. The statement of Ḥinnukh "at the beginning of the thirteenth year"—cp. also Ibn Ezra to Gen. 17 : 14 — is incomprehensible for this reason, because Karet as a punishment imposed by Heaven can not enter in before the twentieth year, a point which is a standing thesis of traditional literature. Cp. Sabbath 89 b; Yer. Bikkurim I, 64 c and Sanhedrin X, 17, 30 b; Gen. R. XVIII, 1, and many other passages. Cp. on this point in detail Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel*, pp. 97 f., 100.

In the Aggadah it is a familiar conception that the children suffer and die for the sins of their parents. We find this conception likewise among Jewish Muta'zila and perhaps also in the above-quoted second explanation of Philo. But this subject requires a separate presentation.

[24] For the time of the composition of this Aggadic work a clue may be derived from the fact that it was employed by Kallah Rabbati. Cp. *infra*, note 29, and the texts appertaining thereto, from which it is manifest that Kallah Rabbati is referring to something which is well known, while in Pereḳ

place,[25] and likewise to the matter of their being endowed with reason a separate treatise will be devoted. Here we shall occupy ourselves principally with the question of retribution, and for the basis of this idea, viz. of their endowment with reason, we shall mention only two passages wherein it is expressed clearly and distinctly without any word-coloring.

(a) All those who were occupied with the construction of the Tabernacle, not only human beings, but likewise animals, were endowed with reason, intelligence, and perception.[26]

(b) All the works of the week of creation were created in their completed, perfect stature, endowed with their power of perception, and in perfect form.[27]

(c) The following statement is especially remarkable: In the Messianic period the prophetic spirit will be poured out upon animals and birds likewise.[27a]

Shirah the fact is being stated. Kallah Rabbati, however, was probably composed by the disciples of R. Yehudai. cp. Aptowitzer, *R. E. J.*, LXX, p. 248. Consequently Perek Shirah belongs to the older Gaonic period, as is also evident from its mystical character. Cp. the text in No. 29.

[25] *M. G. W. J.*, 1920-1921. Since this a great deal of new material has been collected, which will be presented when the proper occasion presents itself.

[26] Ex. R. XLVIII, 3.

[27] R. H. 11 a; Ḥullin 60 a. Cp. R. Ḥananel on the first passage and the Tosaphot in both passages. Cp. the responsum of R. Hai in the *Gaonic Responsa*, ed. Lyck, No. 28; ed. Harkavy, p. 199, No. 383; *Sha'are Teshubah*, No. 144; תורתן של ראשונים, II, p. 46, No. 15. Maimonides explains לדעתן to mean "in their perfected form." Cp. *Moreh*, II, 30; *Guide*, II, 242. Bacher in *Moses ben Maimon*, II, p. 187, note 3. The explanation of Baher in *Die Agada der palestinischen Amoraer*, I, 183, note 4, is the one which the propounders of the question to R. Hai quote in the name of the old Gaonim, but which the Gaon characterizes as דברים בטלים.

"Just as each soul of a human being is numbered, so the animals are not annihilated. And all the souls of the animals which the Lord has made, even as far as the great judgment, bring accusation against a human being, if he tends them badly." Slavonic Enoch, LVIII, 5 f., ed. Bonwetsch, p. 48. The expression "Mantik ulteir" (מנטיק אלטיר), *Ḳoran*, XXVII, 16, is explained by Arabian mystics and by commentators of the Ḳoran (Baidawi, II, 65) that there are meant thereby the well-known sounds of the birds, which, according to their view, just like speech in the case of human beings, give expression to definite representations of the soul. Cp. Goldziher, *Jeshurun*, ed. Kobak, VIII, p. 97, note.

[27a] *Abot R. Natan*, 2 recension, Ch. 43, ed. Schechter, p. 120. Cp. L.

And now let us proceed with our main theme.

I. Animals

(1) Ye shall cast it to the dogs (Ex. 22: 30). This teaches you that the Holy One, Blessed be He, does not encroach upon the reward of any creature. Because it is written, "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog whet his tongue" (Ex. 11: 7), therefore the Holy One, Blessed be He, spoke: Give him his reward. It is accordingly a logical conclusion, that if the reward of an animal is not encroached upon, how much less then the reward of a human being.[28]

(2) Isaiah, the pupil of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa, fasted for eighty-eight fast days, in order to obtain an answer to the following question: Why were the dogs, of whom it is said (Is. 56: 11), "Yea, the dogs are greedy", deemed worthy of singing the following song of praise: 'O come, let us bow down and bend the knee; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker' (Ps. 95 : 6)? Thereupon an angel from heaven gave him answer, and said unto him: Isaiah, how long will you fast because of this question? It is God's decree which secret He has revealed to the prophet Habakkuk only, and to no other man. However, because you are the pupil of a great teacher, therefore I have been given from heaven the permission and the charge to impart unto you the secret. The case is thus: The dogs, of whom it is said (Ex. 11:7), "But against the children of Israel shall no dog whet his tongue", (were therefore found worthy of singing that song). Moreover they were also deemed worthy that the skins for scrolls of the Torah, Tephilin, and Mezuzot should be tanned with their excrements.[29]

Ginzberg, *R. E. J.*, 1914, p. 148.

[28] Mekhilta to Ex. 22 : 30, ed. Friedmann, 98 a. Cp. Ex. R. XXXI, 9.

[29] Yalḳuṭ Ex., Par. 187, annexed directly to the passage, given here under, from the Mekhilṭa, without indicating its source. But the contents speak for Pereḳ Shirah as the source. Cp. also Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*,[2] p. 297, note a.

The statement that the dung of dogs is used for the tanning of skins for Torah-scrolls, and that this is the reward which the dogs receive in return for their peaceful behavior at the exodus of Israel from Egypt is found briefly also in Kallah Rabbati, Ch. 7., end. Abraham ben Natan of Lunel declares as his opinion: "It is a *wide-spread Halakhah in several passages in the Talmud*

(3) The commandment to redeem the first-born of the asses is explained as a reward for the asses on account of the services

that the skins for the scrolls of the Torah are tanned with the excrements of dogs, which thing God gave to the dogs as a reward." Cp. *Manhig*, ed. Berlin, 119 a, and his responsa in גנזי ירושלים, ed. Weltheimer, I, pp. 25, 32, below. The passage in Manhig reads:

ועוד טעו בהלכה פשוטה בכמה מקומות בתלמוד דאמר אין הקב"ה מקפח שכר כל בריה כי בשביל ולכל בני ישראל לא יחרץ כלב לשונו זכו כלבים לעבוד מצואתן עורות לכתוב בהן ס"ת תפלין ומזוזות.

The text of the passage in the Manhig is important from a literary-historical point of view as well, because it is an abridgment and a uniting of the Mekhilta passage and the detailed statement in Pereḳ Shirah. This amalgamation of the two passages is to be explained only that they both stood next to one another in the source of Abraham ben Natan. And this juxtaposition we find in the *Yalḳuṭ*. Therefore, in *Abraham ben Nathan* we recognize *the oldest certain user of the Yalḳuṭ*. From this fact we gain, in addition, a clue as to the time of the composition of the Yalḳuṭ. Abraham ben Nathan composed his Manhig in the year 1204 (Introduction, ed. Berlin, 1b below). In this book he already makes mention of his responsum concerning the permissibility of tanning skins with the excrements of dogs (117 a). This responsum therefore is older than the Manhig. Consequently Abraham ben Nathan had already made use of the Yalḳuṭ even *before* the year 1204. The Yalḳuṭ thus must have been written at least fifty years previously, therefore about one hundred years earlier than the time which Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*[2], 312) assumes for the composition of the Yalḳuṭ.

The foregoing would explain how Abraham ben Natan can make reference to the *Talmud*, whereas in fact there is not the slightest trace of the whole subject to be found in the Talmud. The explanation is as follows: In the Yalḳuṭ, immediately preceding the two passages which we have discussed, there is quoted a sentence from Ber. 56b, with the statement of the source, "הרואה". Ibn Yarḥi therefore could have regarded the entire following detailed statement as a quotation from the Talmud. It was not the habit of mediaeval authors to verify and to analyze sources. Cp. Aptowitzer, *Hazofeh*, I, p. 81. But Ibn Yarḥi says: " in *several* passages in the Talmud", probably because he was acquainted with the subject of the tanning of the skins likewise from Kallah Rabbati, which he regarded as a Talmudic tractate, as he expressly says at the beginning of his commentary to this tractate, פירוש מסכת כלה רבתי, ed. Toledano, Tiberias, 1906. Cp., on this tractate, Aptowitzer, *R. E. J.*, LVII, 243 f., 248.

Wistinecki, *Ha-Hoker*, I, 107, cites the following "Midrash" from the glosses of R. J. S. Nathanson to Yoreh De'ah N. 271:

זכו כלבים שיעבדו בצואתם עורות לספר תורה:

I do not find this passage in the glosses יד שאול in Shulḥan 'Arukh, ed. Lem-

which they rendered Israel at the exodus from Egypt.[30]

(4) A part of the frogs (Ex. 7:27-8:9) voluntarily resolved to enter into the heated ovens of the Egyptians, in order thereby to give up their lives for the glorification of the name of God.[31] For this they were rewarded, since they alone remained alive, whereas their comrades perished.[32]

(5) Abel was buried by the clean birds and by the clean wild animals. In return for this God gave them their reward, that when they are killed, two blessings should be pronounced, over their slaughtering, and over the covering up of their blood.[33]

(6) Another version of this account: "After Cain had killed Abel, the body lay just where it had been cast, since Cain did not know what he should do. Thereupon God sent two clean birds; the one killed the other, then dug a hole, and placed the dead bird therein. Cain followed this example. He dug a grave, and buried Abel. For this reason the birds were found worthy of having their blood covered up."[34]

(7) According to a third version: it was a raven that buried a dead raven, which example was followed by Cain. Then the text goes on to state: *God bestowed upon the ravens a goodly reward in this world.* This reward consists herein, that God provides nourishment for the young brood which is deserted by the ravens.[35]

(8) God does not encroach upon the reward of any creature at all. Even the mouse, which was intent upon having sexual relations with its own kind only, *received its reward* in the fact that it was taken up into the ark.[36]

berg. At any rate, our quotation from the Yalḳuṭ must be meant. Cp. likewise Glosses of R. 'Aḳiba Eger to Ber. 25 a.

[30] Bekhorot 5 b. Cp. Mekhilta, 'Amaleḳ, I, 53 b.

[31] Pes. 53 b according to the text in *Sekhel Tob* II, p. 42 f.

[32] Midr. Ps. 28, Par. 2. Cp. Midrash Ha-Gadol, ed. Hoffmann, p. 65; Ḥizḳuni Ex. 8 : 9 ; Pa'aneaḥ Raza (Amsterdam, 1698) 27 b; Pseudo-Asheri in Hadar Zeḳenim 27 b.

[33] Gen. R. XXII, 8.

[34] Tanḥuma בראשית, Par. 10. Cp. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel*, pp. 53, 156.

[35] Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer, Ch. 21. See Aptowitzer, l. c., pp. 54, 156 f.

[36] Tanḥuma, ed. Buber, נח, par. 11. Cp. Yer. Taanit I, 64 c. Cp. Sanh. 108 b; Gen. R. XXVIII, 8; Tanḥuma נח, Par. 12.

(9) The animals too had intermingled themselves with other species. For this reason they perished in the deluge. *Just as God punished human beings for their sins, in like manner did He punish beasts, wild animals, and the fowl.*[37]

(10) The dog and the raven did not abstain from sexual

[37] Tanḥuma, l. c., and the passages cited. Cp. the Book of Jubilees, V, 2 f. The fishes, however, were spared. Ḳidd. 13 a; Sanh. 108 a; Zebaḥim 113 b; Gen. R. XXXII, at the end. Cp. moreover *Lekaḥ Tob* to Gen. 7: 22.

The text of the Tanḥuma in both editions is incomplete. The complete text, and, in many of the details, the more accurate text, has been retained in Recanati to Deut. XXII, 6. Inasmuch as this text contains many an observation which is important in connection with our subject, we shall present it here in its entirety:

Just as among the human beings the men associated themselves with strange women, so the animals also united themselves with strange kinds, as it is said, "And God made the animals after their kinds" (Gen. 1: 25). God spoke: *You may join yourself to your own kind, but to a strange kind you may not join yourself.* However, the animals and the birds that went into the ark were pious ones that did not associate themselves with strange kinds. R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen, the son of Ḥama, says: With reference to the animals it is said: "according to their families" (Gen. 8 : 19). Have the animals then families, that the Scripture should be able to say "according to their families?" But those animals which associated themselves only with their own kinds were deemed worthy of going into the ark, as it is said, "And God remembered Noah and all the animals" (Gen. 8 : 1). When He remembered Noah, why did He remember also the animals? But God, praised be His name, does not deprive any creature of its reward; even the mouse which guarded its family and did not intermingle itself with a strange kind received its reward. But the people of the generation of the deluge intermixed their families, and also animals and birds intermixed their families, for why did the animals perish with them? But it was because the animals too were corrupt in their deeds, inasmuch as they united themselves with strange kinds: the horse with the ass, the lion with the ox, and the serpent with the tortoise. R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen says: "Just as the pious from among the human beings went into the ark, so also of the animals only the pious ones, as it is said, "according to their families".

Winkler and Jeremias, who fatigue themselves partly with impossible alterations of the text in order to find in the Biblical account of the deluge the item of the fall of the animals through sin, would have had great joy and delight in our passage. Cp. Winkler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, p. 396 f.; Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*,[3] pp. 136, note 1 and 142.

intercourse in the ark, and for this they received their punishment.[38]

(11) The animals, wild animals, and the birds allowed themselves to be led astray by Eve into the enjoyment of the forbidden fruit. For this reason the death penalty was decreed upon them likewise. Only the bird Ḥul (the phoenix) withstood this enticement, and therefore he lives forever.[39]

(12) The birds perished in the deluge because they permitted themselves to be fattened up for the sinful human beings.[40]

(13) Because of the pursuit of the Israelites at their exodus from Egypt, the Egyptian horsemen and their horses were brought to judgment. The horsemen shifted the blame unto the horses, while the horses sought to transfer the blame to the horsemen. Therefore the h orses together with their riders were swallowed up by the waves.[41]

(14) Likewise the wolf and the dog are reduced to servitude, if they injure a human being.[42]

[38] Sanh. 108 b; Yer. Ta'anit I, 64 c; Gen. R. XXXVI, 7; Tanḥuma נח, Par. 11. In the Yer. the punishment of the raven is "striking ugliness, משונה מן הבריות". A similar story is found in the popular belief of the Arabs, according to which the raven was cursed by Noah by being given its blackness. Cp. Baldensperger, *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1893, p. 312; Buechler, *W. Z. K. M.* XVIII, p. 136, note.

[39] Gen. R. XIX, 5; Midr. Samuel, Ch. 12. Cp. also Gen. R. XX, 8, and Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern*," p. 53.

In later Aggadic works there is reckoned among those that came alive into Paradise "the *bird* מלחם and its kind". Derekh Ereṣ Zuṭṭa, Ch. I, end, in the Epstein manuscript (Epstein, *Beitrage zur juedischen Altertumskunde*, p. 111, note); Bereshit Rabbati, Prague manuscript (Epstein, l. c.; Jellinek, *Beth ha- Midrash*, VI, p. XIII, note); and *Alpha - Beth of Ben Sira*, ed. Steinschneider, 27a—29 b. In Bereshit Rabbati there is asserted as the merit of Milḥam that it was unwilling to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Hence Milḥam = phoenix. Afterwards I found in Morfill-Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 94 (additional note), a reference to Kohler, *J. Q. R.*, 1893, who identifies Milḥam with the phoenix. This observation of Kohler is to be found in *J. Q. R.*, l. c., p. 418. *Slavonic Enoch*, XII, 1 f. is to be compared therewith. Cp. Morfill- Charles, l. c., p. 12.

[40] Gen. R. XXVIII, 6.

[41] Mekhilta to Ex. 15 : 1, 36b, ed. Hoffmann, p. 59. For the picture cp. Sanh. 91 a, b, the judging of the soul. Lev. R. IV, 5. Tanḥuma ויקרא, Par. 6.

[42] Gen. R. XXVI, 6; Kohelet R. to 8: 9. Midrash Zuṭṭa, ed. Buber,

(15) While R. Yoḥanan was observing the plunging pelican and noticing how it was drawing the fishes out of the water, he exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist, "Thy judgments are like the great deep" (Psalm 36:7).[43] (Whoever is judged by Thee, upon him the judgment is executed even in the depths of the sea, just as the pelican draws out from the depths of the waters the fishes which have been condemned to death).[44]

We made the observation above that traces of this conception are to be found in many decisions of the Halakha likewise. We had in mind the following Halakhot:

(16) An animal which has killed a human being, as well as an animal with which fornication has been carried on, in both of which cases, according to the Biblical prescription, the animal is to be killed (Ex. 21 : 28-32; Lev. 20 : 15-16), is condemned before a court of justice consisting of twenty-three members.[45]

(17) The verification of the fact that an animal is one which is habitually wont to cause injury (מועד) takes place before a

p. 118. Cp. Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Naḥmanides to Gen. 9 : 5. Cp. further below, Zarathustra.

[43] Ḥullin 63 a.

[44] Rashi in the name of his teacher. According to a second explanation found in Rashi the judgment consists in the difficulty of procuring food. This is the explanation of R. Gershom. Similarly, Jeḥiel of Pisa, Minḥat Ḳenaot, p. 46.

[45] Mishna Sanhedrin I, 4. Tosefta III, 1 f; Babli 15 ab. Tschernowitz, *Vorlesungen ueber dem Talmud* (שעורים בתלמוד), I, p. 31, believes, with reference to the animal that gores, that only a logical carrying out of the equation, "the killing of the animal is equal to the manner of the killing of its owner", is under discussion. But this would be more than logical. It would be mechanical, all too mechanical. But perhaps, it may be explained that the rabbinical prescriptions with reference to the killing of the animal have in view the sparing of the animal through the expedient of rendering the process of law more difficult. Thus one view in the Talmud appears to have conceived the matter. Cp. Sanh. 55a, below:

בבעלי חיים קאמרינן דחס רחמנא עלייהו:

and Rashi on this passage:

שהצריך להם ב'ד של עשרים ושלשה והעדאת עדים:

It is more natural and accurate to assume that—as is so often the case—the view is older than the Midrash, which has as its purpose only to confer authority upon the old view.

regularly constituted court and in the presence of the animal itself.[46]

(18) The execution of an animal, that has killed a human being, takes place only in a case the animal has killed "intentionally" (בכוונה), but if "unintentionally" (שלא בכוונה), it is not liable for punishment. Furthermore, even if the animal intended to kill one person, but instead killed another, it is free from punishment, according to one opinion. We have thus exactly the same distinction as in the case of a human being.[47]

(19) To the question as to why an animal with which fornication has been practiced is killed, whereas, in the case of an animal which has been made the object of idolatrous worship, this prescription does not occur in the Bible, Raba gives the following answer: "In the first case, the animal derives enjoyment from the sin, and for this reason it is killed.[48]

In these decress of the Talmudic damage law likewise there is thus expressed the conception of the responsibility and the punishment of animals. Indeed, in another passage in the Talmud, it is deduced from the fact that animals bite and cause other damages, that animals likewise possess an "evil inclination" (יצר הרע).[49]

This is a conception of law which was familiar to the nations of antiquity.[49a] Thus, according to the teaching of *Zarathustra*, a dog which has bitten a human being is punished with mutilation. Animals which have caused damage had sentence passed upon them before a regularly appointed court together with the observation of all the formalities of judicial procedure. And sentences were passed likewise on inanimate objects. Also still in mediæval times, judicial proceedings against animals were frequent.[49b]

[46] Tosefta Baba Ḳama II, 2; Babli 24a.

[47] Mishna B. Ḳama IV, 6; Tosefta IV, 5; Babli 41b, 43 ab, 44a-45a.

[48] Sanh. 55 a, below.

[49] Berakhot 61 a.

[49a] Cp. Post, *Die Grundlagen des Rechts*, p. 360; Ihering, *Das Schuldmoment im roemischen Privatrecht*, p. 213; Tschernowitz l. c., p. 7 f.

[49b] Cp. Post and Ihering, l. c. Morfill-Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 75. *Der Tag*, II, N. 153, p. 3 (Vienna, 1923).

Since animals and inanimate things were treated as creatures endowed with volition, so that they can be rendered answerable for the damages directly caused by them, it was not impossible to go a step still further and to make them responsible, exactly as in the case of human beings, also for damages which they caused indirectly. This accounts for the following remarkable decree of the *Armenian law code* which is quoted in the name of the *Mosaic* law:

"It is written in the law of Moses, that if some one falls down from a tree and dies, the tree shall be hewn down . . . . If, also, a stone falls down from a church or from a house and kills some one, then the structure, in case it is a house, shall be torn down."[49c]

Only one single utterance from the older Rabbinic literature can be set in opposition to this conception:

(20) In commenting on Lev. 20 : 15-16, the Mishnah asks: Granting that the human being has sinned, in what has the animal sinned? Answer: because the human being came through it to the commission of a sin, therefore Scripture says: it shall be stoned. Another explanation: In order that, when the animal walks upon the street, people should not point to it, saying: this is the animal because of which so and so has been stoned.[50]

[49c] *Armenisches Rechtsbuch*, ed. Karst, par. 67. Cp. also for this Karst to this passage, and D. H. Mueller, *Semitica*, II, p. 32.

[50] Sanh. 54a. Parallel passages are: Sifra Ḳedoshim, Pereḳ XI, 3 f; Semaḥot VIII, end; Gen. R. XVI, 7; Pesiḳta, ed. Buber, 75b and 142b; Lev. R. XXVII, 3; Pes. R. Cp. 42 (ed. Friedmann, 175 a); Tanḥuma אמור, Par. 8 (ed. Buber, Par. 11), בלק, Par. 9, ed. Buber, par. 13 in many manuscripts. Cp. also more Num. R. XX, 14. The first reason is, properly, not intelligible, because the question still remains: how can it be the fault of the animal if a human being has misused it for the commission of a sin? The sentence should therefore be understood in the following manner: because the human being has come to a sin through the animal, he is always reminded of his shame by the animal, as it is stated in the second reason, which after all is properly only a more explicit version of the first sentence. This seems to follow also from the question which was put to R. Sheshet, Sanhedrin 55a. However, the amalgamation of both these reasons in the Sifra is especially evident, where both reasons are stated in full without any transition at all. As a matter of fact, in many texts there is lacking in the quotation from the Mishna the words "דבר אחר". E. g., Semaḥot, Pesiḳta, ed. Buber, 75 b, and Lev. R. *Philo's* explana-

R. M. Ḥefeṣ, who did not fail to notice this passage, seeks to interpret the simple sense of this question, that the animal is not capable of sin, in various ways,[51] and yet he has overlooked the parallel passages in which it is expressly stated that an animal has neither sins nor merit.[52] For us, however, no reinterpretation is necessary, since one single utterance is not in a position to remove this view which is otherwise quite wide-spread.

In a later Aggadah, in a passage which enumerates the differences between human beings and animals, it is stated:

(20a) "When an animal dies, its spirit has rest. But when a human being dies, his spirit has no rest, because he is brought to judgment and there are enumerated in his presence all his deeds, both good and bad."[52a]

tion of the commandment in Lev. 20 : 15-16 is interesting. His first reason is exactly the first reason in the Mishna, but the third reason can be understood as an amplification of the second reason of the Mishna. Philo writes as follows: "Therefore, if a man has intercourse with a beast, or a woman suffers a beast to have coition with her, then both the human beings as well as the animals must die . . . . the animals, however, because they have served for such base acts, and in order that none of them may bring forth or beget a monster, such as might be produced through abominations of this kind. For the rest, no one indeed who attaches any value at all to that which is proper would ever again employ these animals for any manner of service as long as they lived, rather will each one turn away from them in disgust, and find even the sight of them unpleasant, and likewise regard everything which they ever touch as having become immediately polluted; however, to permit such animals to live, animals which during their life-time are useful for nothing, would signify, even if to do so would be suitable and appropriate, at any rate a superfluous 'burdening of the earth'. as some one has said". De Spec. Leg., III, Par. 8. M. II, 308. (The German translation is found in the *Schriften der juedisch-hellenistischen Literatur*, edition L. Cohn, II, 197, Par. 49-50).

[51] מלאכת מחשבת, 35b.

[52] Sifra and Semaḥot:

ומה אם בהמה שאין בה לא זכות ולא חובה לא טובה ולא רעה. . . . .

[52a] *Alphabet of R. 'Akiba, Beth ha- Midrash III*, 38, ed. Wertheimer, p. 42. The same is found in Seder Eliah Zuṭṭa, Ch. 24, where the text is not in order, also not in ed. Friedmann (נספחים), p. 34. To the detailed account in these texts there goes back the following saying in a late Aggadic work:

"R. Jose says: Consider the difference between animal and man. The animal, it is true, suffers many pains in the world, then it is slaughtered and its skin is taken off, *but it is not subjected to any judgment.* The human being, however, endures much sorrow in this world, and after death the righteous

I know only of three passages in the Apocrypha dealing with our subject with reference to animals, and indeed all three are opposed to the conception of the Aggadah:

(21) They (the animals) are indeed much better off than we are, for they have no judgment to expect, and they know of no torment or beatitude supposedly promised to them after death.[53]

(22) Those that are irrational (the animals) are better off than human beings. Because they do not have to be called to account, but us hast Thou delivered up to judgment.[54]

(23) The Lord, however, does not judge even a single soul of an animal on account of a human being, but He judges the soul of the human beings for the sake of their animals in this world. For human beings have a separate place. Just as soul of human beings is numbered and counted, so the animals are not annihilated. And all the souls of the animals which the Lord has made, even up to the great judgment, bring accusation against the human being, if he tends them badly.[55]

man is free from judgment, but the evil-doer is punished with severe punishments". *Beth ha- Midrash*, I, 151:

א"ר יוסי בא וראה כמה בין בהמה לאדם. בהמה כמה יסורין סובלת בעולם, שוחטין אותה ומפשיטין אותה, ואין עליה דין. אבל אדם, כמה יסורין סובל בעוה"ז ולאחר מיתתו אם צדיק גמור הוא פוטרין אותו מן הדין ואם רשע גמור הוא דנין אותו בדינים חמורים:

Cp. also Abot R. Natan, I. Chap. 31, ed. Schechter, 55 a; Kallah, end; Seder Eliah Zuṭṭa, ch. 6, ed. Friedmann (נספחים), p. 43.

[53] Fourth Book of Ezra 7 : 66; Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, II, 373.

[54] *τὰ ἄλογα κάλλιόν εἰσιν παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅτι κόλασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμᾶς δὲ ἔλαβες καὶ εἰς κρίσιν παρέδωκας.* *Apoc. Esdrae* (ed. Tischendorf, p. 25), quoted by Gunkel in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, II, 373, Note e.

[55] *Slavonic Enoch*, LVIII, 5, ed. Bonwetsch, p. 34; ed. Morfill-Charles, p. 73. In another manuscript we read the following: "With respect to this there will be no judgment of every living soul, but only the human being. And for the souls of the animals there is a place and a fold in the great aeon. For every soul of a living creature (animal) which the Lord has made will not be closed in until the great judgment. But all the souls bring accusation against the human being. Whoever does harm to the soul of an animal commits a trespass against his own soul." Leszynsky, *Mohammedanische Tradition ueber das juengste Gericht*, p. 73, cites this passage from the Book of Enoch as proof that even animals "are actually judged". However, this is the contrary of that which is contained in the text. The point is unclear in Ginzberg, *R. E. J.*, LXVIII, 148. Cp. also Charles, l. c., Note ". . . . but wholly with a view to the punishment of man".

II. Heavenly Bodies

(24) The sun and the moon were of equal size at their origin, whereupon the moon spoke before God: "Is it fitting that two kings should have equal crowns?" Therefore God said to the moon, "Go and diminish yourself". Hereupon the latter said, "Lord of the world, because I have spoken before Thee something just, should I therefore have to diminish myself"? God made answer to the moon, "In return for it you will rule by day and by night". Whereupon the moon asked, "And what gain will I have thereby, and of what use would a candlelight be by day"? Then God answered, "Then Israel will count the days and the years according to you". The moon replied, "But the sun too is indeed indispensible for chronology". Finally God comforted the moon by saying, "The righteous shall be named according to you."[56]

Another version of this Aggadah reads as follows: The sun and the moon were of the same size at the time of their creation, until the moon appeared before God with envy against the sun. The moon said unto God: "Why hast Thou created Thy world with the letter ב"? God answered: "The ב, the numerical value of which is two, is an indication that there are two worlds, this world and the future world". Whereupon the moon inquired:

With the "place for the souls of the animals" the following Mohammedan tradition is to be compared:

"The following is handed down by Abu Huraira in the name of him who was sent by God: God created the trumpet (of the Last Judgment) and it has four openings . . . . In it there are as many compartments as there are classes of spirits: in one of them there are the spirits of the prophets, in another one the spirits of the angels, in a third one the spirits of the genii, in a fourth one the spirits of the human beings, in a fifth one the spirits of the Satans, and in a sixth one the spirits of the animals, down to the ant and the gnat, in seventy kinds." *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 91.

[56] Ḥullin 60b. Cp. Shebuot 9a; Jon. to Gen. 1 : 16; Jon. to Numbers 28 : 15. Cp. Gen. R. VI, 3, Pirḳe R. Eliezer, Cp. VI: The sun and the moon were equal in greatness and splendor at their creation. Then there arose envy between them, inasmuch as the sun said that it was more important than the moon, and the moon claimed that it was more important than the sun. Thus there was no peace between them, and therefore God let the one luminary remain in its greatness and made the other one smaller. Cp. ibid. Ch. 51.

"Which world is greater, this world or that world"? "The future world is larger", replied God. Then the moon said: "Two worlds hast Thou created, of which one is great and the other small. Thou hast created the heaven and the earth; the heaven is greater than the earth. Fire and water hast Thou created; the water conquers the fire. Sun and moon hast Thou created, one of these likewise ought to be smaller than the other". Thereupon God spoke: "I know indeed what you mean, for you desire that I make the sun smaller and you greater. Therefore you shall be diminished to a sixtieth part of the light of the sun". Then spoke the moon before God: "On account of this one remark, such a severe penalty"? Hereupon God comforted the moon, saying: "In the future I shall make your light as great as the light of the sun." "And the sun?", the moon then inquired. Whereupon God said: "Are you still unable to leave off this ill-will of yours? Now truly the sun shall be made seven fold as great."[57]

The view that the moon, which originally was of the same size as the sun, was diminished in size as a punishment for a misdeed, is found already in the *Apocalypse of Baruch:*

In answer to the question of Baruch, "And how does it happen that sometimes it increases, but at other times it decreases?", the angel said: "Listen, O Baruch! The moon, which you see there, has already been judged by the Lord as no other has been. And on the occasion of the transgression of Adam the first man, it kept itself in the vicinity of Samael, when he put on the serpent as a garment. And it did not keep itself hidden, but it increased, and God became angry at it and pressed it (together) and shortened its days."[58]

The Slavonic text is more detailed and somewhat different:

"After the serpent had led Adam and Eve astray and had pointed out to them their nakedness and they were weeping bitterly over their nakedness, then the entire creation likewise wept over them, the heavens and the sun and the stars, and the whole creation was moved, even as far as the throne of God. The

[57] Midrash Konen, Jellinek's *Beth ha-Midrash*, II, p. 26.

[58] *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, IX, Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, II, p. 454.

angels, moreover, and the powers were moved (shaken), because of the transgression of Adam, but the moon laughed. Therefore God became incensed against it, and darkened its light, and caused that after a short time it gets old and then is born again. But at the beginning it was not so, but it was brighter than the sun, and it had the duration of the day."[59]

(24a) According to another Aggadah, the moon voluntarily declared that it wished to become smaller, and for this modesty it was rewarded that at its appearance it is accompanied by the multitude of shining stars.[59a]

(25) Day after day God sits in judgment over the sun and the moon, since they refuse to rise and to bestow their light upon the world, because the people render them divine worship. Therefore God sits in judgment over them and forces them against their will to rise and to illumine the world.[60]

But the sun and the moon did not become indignant at the idolatrous conduct of the human beings of their own accord, but through a reprimand on the part of God, as it is related in the following Aggadah:

(26) When Ḳorah rebelled against Moses, the sun and the moon went up from the Reḳi'a to the Zebul and spoke to God: "Lord of the world, if Thou vouchsafest justice to the son of 'Amram, then we shall rise; if not, then we are not going to rise." Then God said unto them: "Every day the human beings worship you, and you still keep on shining calmly, without having regard to my honor, whereas the impairment of the honor of a human being grieves you so deeply." Then God compelled them to carry out their appointed task. From that time on this is repeated daily. Sun and moon refuse to rise, and they are forced to do so, by being beaten or by having arrows and lances hurled at them.[61]

Concerning the manner of this beating the following Aggadah gives us information:

[59] Kautzsch, l. c., note f.

[59a] Gen. R. VI, 4.

[60] Lev. R. XXXI, 9; Midr. Ps., 19, Par. 11.

[61] Ned. 39 b; Sanh. 110 a. Cp. *Seder Eliah Rabba*, Ch. 2, ed. Friedmann, p. 11.

(26a) When Moses learned of the destruction of the Temple, he spoke, "Cursed be you, O sun, why were you not darkened when the enemy was forcing his way into the sanctuary?" Thereupon the sun answered: "By your life, O Moses, faithful shepherd, how was I able to become darkened, when they hold me fast and beat me with sixty fiery rods and call out unto me: "Go out and let your light shine'?"[62]

To these Aggadot there goes back the following statement: "Chartifael lashes the sun every day with thirty-nine strokes, because the nations of the world worship it and force it into divinity."[63] The Arabians too make mention of the fact that the sun must be compelled to bestow its light and its warmth upon the living creatures.[64]

[62] Lamen. R., Proemium 24, end; Lamen. Zuṭṭa, ed. Buber, p. 73. Sixty is the number of the heavenly blows of punishment, Ḥagiga 15 a: ומחיוהו שיתין פולסי דנורא. Yoma 77 a; B. Meṣ. 85 b.—The number sixty is perhaps borrowed from the Persian bastonade, as Rashi to Ḥagiga seems to intimate. Ḥamurapi, par. 202, punishes a box on the ear with sixty blows of the stick. Cp. D. H. Mueller, *Die Gesetze Hamurabis*, p. 56. Mueller already brings the decree of Ḥamurapi into connection with the Talmudic statements. Cp. likewise Funk, Babel und Bibel (*Monumenta Talmudica*, IV), p. 328, and Krauss, *Debhir*, I (Berlin 1923), p. 106. In Rashi to B. Meṣ. "מקלות" is to be read, as in Yoma and Ḥagiga. Fire is the heavenly means of punishment. On the ground of these explanations the questions raised by Krauss subside.

[63] The Jewish-German manuscript is found in Gruenwald's *Mitteilungen zur juedischen Volkskunde*, II, 42, note 91.

[64] The poet Omajja, an older contemporary of Mohammed, composed the following verses:

"The sun goes up at the end of every night, at first it is brown, then it becomes rose-colored (out of vexation).—Because it refuses to rise, and only through severity and force is its hesitating conquered".

Abū Bekr, the Hodzajlite, observed with reference to these verses: "However, it is certainly not true that the sun must be goaded like a bull." Thereupon Ikrim answered:

"I swear by Him in whose hand my life is, seventy thousand angels have to compel the sun to rise, because it says: how am I to shine over human beings who worship something else as God." Sprenger, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, I, 112. Cp. also Goldziher, *Der Mythas bei den Hebraern*, p. 226. Ikrim accordingly is in exact agreement with the Aggadah. Omajja too studied among the Jews. Cp. Sprenger, l. c., p. 111. Perhaps reference ought likewise to be made to the Slavonic Enoch, XI, 4- 5; "Fifteen myriads of angels go out with the sun and attend him during the day, and by night one thousand. Each angel

The conception of the punishment of heavenly bodies because of their refusal to rise is to be found already in the Book of Enoch in the following two passages:

(27) I saw a deep abyss with columns of heavenly fire, and below them I saw fiery pillars fall down; they could not be measured either according to their depth or according to their height. Behind this abyss I saw a place where there were neither the firmament of heaven above, nor the firmly fastened earth below, nor water beneath, nor any birds, but it was a place waste and dreadful. I saw there seven stars like huge burning mountains. When I made inquiries regarding them, the angel said, "This is the place where heaven and earth come to an end; this is a prison for the stars and for the host of the heaven. The stars, which roll along above the fire, are those which transgressed the command of God at the very beginning of their going up, because they did not come forth at their proper time. Therefore God became angry at them and bound them for ten thousand years, until the time when their sin will be completed."[65]

(28) I wandered round about, until I came to a place where there was no thing. There I saw something terrible: I saw no heaven above and no firmly founded land beneath, but only a desolate and a dreadful place. There I saw seven stars of heaven fettered and thrust into the place, like great mountains, and burning in fire. Thereupon I spoke, "Because of what sins are they bound, and for what reason have they been cast off hither?" Thereupon there spoke unto me Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me and who is their leader, and said, "Enoch, wherefore do you ask, and wherefore do you zealously trouble yourself to find out the truth? These are the stars of heaven which have transgressed the command of God, and they are bound here until ten thousand years, the time of their sin, shall have been completed."[66]

has six wings. They go before the chariot of the sun. And a hundred angels keep warm and light up the sun." Cp. Morfill-Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 12.

[65] Enoch 18: 11–16. Kautsch, *Apokryphen*, II, p. 249f.

[66] Enoch: 1– 6, Kautzsch, l. c., p. 251. Cp. also Enoch 90 : 24; Kautzsch, p. 297.

(29) No creature can be delivered from the day of judgment, as it is written, "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed" (Is. 24 : 23) . . . . In the future God will seat Himself on the throne of judgment (in order to judge all creatures). First He orders the heaven and the earth to come, and speaks to them: "At the beginning of the creation did I create you. When you saw that my Shekhinah was being removed, that my House was being destroyed, and that my children were being driven out among the nations, why did you not implore mercy?" He judges them, and orders them to step to one side. Then He orders the sun and the moon to come, and He speaks thus to them, "You two great luminaries, on the fourth day of the creation did I create you. When you saw that my Shekhinah was being removed, that My House was being destroyed, and that My children were going into exile, why did you not beg for mercy?" And then, too, the kings of the east and of the west were wont to prostrate themselves before you, the while they placed their crowns upon their heads,[67] and you did not say: "We are like potsherds of clay, therefore do not prostrate yourselves before us'." He judges them, and tells them to step to one side. Then He asks the stars and the constellations to come forward, and He speaks: "I have granted unto you brightness and splendour from one end of the world to the other, and I created you for the sake of Israel. Why did you not beg for mercy, when you saw that my Shekhinah was being removed, that My House was being destroyed, and that My children were wandering off into exile?" He judged them, and allows them to step to the side.[68]

(30) "On that day of the Last Judgment, the Lord will judge the heaven and the earth."[69]

(31) Barak decreed a ban against the star Meroz.[70]

[67] Thus likewise Ber. 7 a and 'Abodah Zara 4 b in the utterance of R. Meir. In other texts it reads thus: "They took their crowns from off their heads." Otiot R. 'Aḳiba, *Beth ha-Midrash* III, 61, ed. Wertheimer, p. 76. Cp. on this point Aptowitzer, *M. G. W. J.*, LXIV (1920), p. 312, note 16.

[68] Seder Eliah Zuṭṭa, Ch. 20, ed. Friedmann (נספחים), p. 30 f.

[69] *Apokalypse des Elias*, ed. Steindorff, p. 103 f. Cp. Is. 24 : 21.

[70] Judges 5 : 23. Moed Ḳaṭon 16 a. Compare R. Ḥananel and Pseudo-Rashi to the passage. To the contrary, Salomo ben ha-Jatom, Commentary

As is well-known, the Arabian and the Jewish philosophers teach that the spheres and the constellations are living, intelligent beings of a higher kind.[70a] Philo, too, and Plato, and Aristotle taught a similar doctrine.[70b]

III. Plants and Inanimate Objects

(32) "On the third day He created all the trees in Paradise. And in this world He created all the fruit-trees and the trees of the forest. When then the cedars of Lebanon and the mighty trees of Bashan and all the lofty trees saw that they had been created first upon the earth, they lifted themselves up on high and became haughty. But God spoke unto them: I hate pride and arrogance. I alone am sublime in the world. And immediately He created iron. When the trees saw that God had created the mountain of iron, they wept. For this reason the trees are called

to Mashḳin, ed. Chajes, p. 75: star = angel. Similar explanations in connection with other matters may be seen in Tosafot 'Abodah Zarah 17 at voce ער and Ḥullin 7 at voce אמר and מהרש"א to Megillah 29 a. Cp. furthermore, יפה תאר to Gen. R. XCIX, at the beginning. But this rationalism can not always be employed. Cp. also, below, note 74.

Winkler and Jeremias seek to find through forcing the text in the Song of Deborah that the stars fought *with* Sisera against Israel, and derive from this the view that the stars are enemies of God! How they would have rejoiced over our passage (according to the conception of Rashi and R. Chananel). Winkler, *Geschichte Israels*, II, 130; Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*,[3] pp. 422, 602.

[70a] Cp. e. g., *Moreh* II, 4 ff.; Neumark, *Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie*, I, p. 551. Cp. especially Mishneh Torah יסודי התורה, III, 9; Ibn Ṣaddiḳ, *Microcosmos*, ed. Horowitz, p. 10.

For the Arabians cp. also Dieterici, *Die Anthropologie der Araber*, p. 69: "This because the sun is the queen of the planets, and its *soul* is the life-breath (spirit) of the world".

[70b] Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III[2], p. 392, *Schriften der jeudisch-hellenistischen Literatur*, ed. L. Cohn, I, Introduction, p. 11; II, 16, Note 1; Julius Stenzel, *Ueber zwei Begriffe der platonischen Republik*, p. 21. Cp. also ibidem, p. 4 (Jahresbericht des staedtischen Johannes-Gymnasiums zu Breslau fuer das Schuljahr 1913-1914); Stenzel, *Ueber Platos Lehre von der Seele* in *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universitaet Breslau*, 1911, p. 88 f. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*,[3] II, 2, p. 439. Jehuda Hadassi, *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, Alph. 96, 41 b, characterizes this view as a heresy of the Sabaeans.

Thus also in some gnostic system: "These seven heavens are furthermore,

"weeping".[70c] God spoke unto them: Why are you weeping? They answered: Because Thou hast created the mountain of iron, in order that it may tear us out from our roots. Because we believed that there was nothing in the world which is as high as we are, therefore there was now created a destroyer to destroy us. And God answered them: From you yourselves will come the handle for the axe which will cut you down.[70d] I will cause that you will rule over it, and that it will rule over you. Thus did He make peace among them.[70e]

(32a) Even the trees of the forest will one day be brought to reckoning by God. It is said: Like men are the trees of the field (Deut. 20 : 19). Just as human beings are brought to account, so also the trees will be brought to account.[71]

as they say, endowed with reason, and angels". Irenaeus, *cont. Haer.*, I, 5, 2. Schultz, *Dokumente der Gnosis*, p. 172.

On this conception of the constellations as living beings endowed with souls there rests the fancy of the Aggadah, that the sun, the moon, and the stars prostrate themselves in worship before God and sing hymns of praise. Sanh. 91 b, Mid. Ps., 19 par. 7. The prostration of the stars before God is found likewise in the poet Omajja. Cp. Sprenger, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, I, 112.

In the benediction recited at the greeting of the new moon it is said, with reference to the sun and the moon; "They rejoice to do the will of their Creator" ששים ושמחים לעשות רצון קונם:

Sanh. 42 a; Prayer Books. On this there rests the following passage in the Joṣer-Kedusha for Sabbath: "Lovely are the luminaries of heaven, which our God has created. With understanding, reason, and intelligence has He endowed them . . . . exulting do they come up, rejoicing do they go down, and they fulfill in reverence the will of their Creator".

[70c] Targum to II Sam. 5: 23-24. The gloss in *Beth ha-Midrash* is found in Yalḳuṭ Reubeni.

[70d] Cp. Sanh. 39 b. Cp. especially Gen. R. V., at the end.

[70e] Midrash Konen, *Beth ha-Midrash*, II, 25, cited in Yalḳuṭ Reubeni to Gen. 1 : 11 (4 c).

The beginning of this Aggadah is given also in *Beth ha- Midrash*, II, 64. In a later mystic work it is said, "Before the creation of this world God created worlds and destroyed them, He created trees, and unrooted them, because they were inconsiderate and full of envy towards each other". פתח תניינא נחלה מבוהלת בראשונה ואחריתה לא תבורך (משלי כ׳) מלמד שהקב״ה ברא תחלה עולמות ומחריבן, אילנות ועוקרן לפי שהיו מבוהלים ומקנאין זה לזה:

Tractate Aṣilut (At the end of Agadat Bereshit, ed. Lublin, 1883).

[71] Gen. R. XXVI, 6; Kohelet R. to 8 : 9. Midrash Zuṭṭa, ed. Buber, p. 118. The sin of the trees of the forest consists presumably in the fact that they

(33) At the dividing of the waters on the second day of the creation, no part of the waters was willing to remain beneath. The waters to which God had assigned their place upon the earth pushed their way up into heaven and did not want to move from there. God commanded them to descend, but they revolted against the command, saying, "We do not want to go down." As a punishment for their rebellion, God wanted to have them consumed by fire, but they began to weep and to implore, so that God had compassion upon them, under the condition that they should divide themselves for Israel and that they should not allow the prophet Jonah to flee to Tarshish.[72]

(34) The earth was cursed because it transgressed the com-

bear no fruit. In accordance with this, our Aggadah is in contradiction with that statement (Yer. Kelaim I, 27 b; Gen. R. V, 9) which tells us that at the creation the trees of the woods too bore fruit. Cf. יפה תואר to Gen. R. XXVI, 6. But in actuality the assumption of a contradiction is not necessary. According to our Aggadist the trees of the forest are punished because they *ceased* to bear fruit. That the trees of the forest bore fruit in the first period after the creation of the world follows likewise from Sifra בחוקותי, I, 3-6. A similar statement is affirmed by the Arabians with regard to the acacia: In Paradise it was supposed to have borne the most beautiful fruits, but then it was covered with thorns and dry husks. Cp. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, II, 378.

[72] Midrash Konen, *Beth ha-Midrash*, ed. Jellinek, II, p. 25. More detailed and somewhat different in סדר רבה דבראשית No. 17, *Bote Midrashot*, ed. Wertheimer, 9 f. Cp. Midrash to the Decalog in *Beth ha-Midrash* I, 63 with the following conclusion: The waters excused their rebellion on the ground that they had done everything only for the honor of God. In return for this God rewarded them herewith, that the upper waters do not sing a hymn to the Creator until after they have received permission to do so from the lower waters. Compare for this also the statement of R. Berekhya, Gen. R. V, 4. Another kind of rebellion of the waters is found in *Pirke R. Eliezer* Chap. 5; *Mid. Ps. 93*, Par. 5. Of the conditions which are mentioned in Midrash Konen the first is found likewise in Gen. R. V, 5 and Ex. R. XXI, 6, whereas of the second one no mention is made anywhere else.

Another Aggadah, which is strongly reminiscent of the Tiamat myth, relates as follows: At the beginning the world was water in water, and the earth was completely sunk under water. Then God spoke: "Let the waters gather themselves together". Thereupon answered the waters: "Whither shall we gather ourselves together, seeing that we fill the whole world " Thereupon God killed Oceanus, and the remaining waters fled. Ex. R. XV, 22. To this allusion is made in Ḳohelet R. to 1 : 15: משנתעוותו התים:. Cf. moreover B. Bathra 77 b.

mandment of God, according to which the trees themselves were to be eatable too, but the earth brought forth trees only the fruit of which is eatable.[73]

(34a) The earth was cursed because it did not call Adam's attention to his sin.[73a]

(34b) On the day on which Adam had transgressed God's prohibition, the heavens caused their light to become dark, but the earth did not know what to do. Therefore God cursed it, because it had hesitated with its testimony. The curse consisted in the diminution of its original power of productivity. It remained under its curse until Abraham came and gave the world a firm foundation.[73b]

(35) Sticks and straps likewise are punished if they harm human beings.[74]

[73] Yer. Kilajim, I, 6, 27 b; Gen. R. V, 9; Rashi Genesis 1 : 11. Cp. Rashi to Gen. 4 : 11.

[73a] Pirḳe R. Eliezer, ch. 14, at the end. Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. 3 : 17. From here in cabbalistic works. Cp. Luria to Pirḳe R. Eliezer.

[73b] Zohar Ḥadash to Gen. 3 : 15 (Livorno ed., 24 b). Cp. above, number (24) *Baruch.*

[74] Gen. R. XXVI, 6. Ḳohelet R. to 8 : 9. Midrash Zuṭṭa, ed. Buber, p. 118.—Luria to Gen. R. refers to Seder Eliah R., Ch. 24. This corresponds to the reading in the recent editions, which reading, however, is a text construed by the commentator of the זקוקין דנורא on the ground of his own authority. But in ed. pr. and ed. Friedmann, p. 126 there is no trace present of these texts.

In Sepher Ḥasidim, No. 799, ed. Berlin, p. 148, N. 524, the following is explicitly stated: "If a human being comes to harm through any thing whatsoever, then the angel, who is appointed over the species of this thing, is called to answer for it. If a righteous man is killed through a certain thing, e. g., a cedar tree, then the angel in question comes before the court of judgment. For angel and human being come before the court of judgment . . . . Now when the time has come for a certain righteous man to depart from the world, the angel of the constellational period in question wishes that the righteous man shall not die under his constellation, likewise the angel of places and the angel who is appointed over wood and stone, so that they shall not be brought to judgment. For this reason the wolf and the dog and the strap perish." Here, thus, two explanations have come together: (1) The punishment befalls the angel who is appointed over the thing. Cp. above, Note 70. (2) The punishment strikes the thing itself, inasmuch as it is destroyed before the time of the natural process of dissolution. A trace of the second explanation is to be found likewise in Pseudo-Rashi to the passage.

(36) The olive-tree was the only one among all the trees which did not intermingle with other kinds. For this reason it was deemed worthy of serving as a sign of good fortune for Noah and of giving off light in the sanctuary.[75]

(37) On account of its modesty and its yielding nature the reed was found worthy of having the Holy Scriptures written therewith.[76]

(38) Just as a king grants the coronation legion a distinction enduring for all times, thus God too conferred upon the earth, which was the first to carry out His command, a distinction which will never depart from it.[77]

(38a) According to another Aggadah, this distinction was conferred upon the water, which first sang a hymn to God.[78]

(39) The sea and the earth had a quarrel with each other. The sea spoke to the earth, "Receive your creatures," and the earth said unto the sea, "Take up those who were killed in you" (the Egyptians). The earth refused to take up the dead Egyptians, because it feared that it would be called to account for doing so. It spoke as follows: Because of the taking up of the blood of Abel the curse of God befell me. How then shall I now take up these great multitudes? It persisted in its refusal until God swore *to it that He would not bring it to judgment*.[79]

(40) When God was about to reveal His teaching to the world, the mountains began to strive among themselves. Each one claimed for itself the right and the merit of being the spot on which the giving of the Torah and its legislation should take place. Each one regarded itself as being worthy of this distinction, of this privilege. Sinai alone remained silent in its modesty, convinced that it was not worthy of this great distinction. But

[75] Lev. R. XXXI, 10, according to the correct explanation of Strashun. The text is not intact.

[76] Abot R. Natan, Ch. 41. Derekh Ereṣ R., IV. Ta'anit 20 a; Sanḥ. 106 a; Kallah R. 13 a.

[77] Gen. R. XII, end. Cp. Einhorn and Theodor on the passage.

[78] Mid. Ps. 93, par. 2. Cp. Bote Midrashot, ed. Wertheimer, IV, p. 33.

[79] Mekhilta to Ex. 15 : 12 (ed. Friedmann, 42 a); Mekhilta, ed. Hoffmann, p. 68; Lamen. R. I, 16; Jonathan and the Fragmentary Targum to the passage, Midrash Wa-Yosha, Jellinek's *Beth ha-Midrash* I, 53. In Pirḳe R. Eliezer, Chap. 42, end, the earth demands the oath of God.

God disdained the proud Carmel and the towering Tabor, which had left their places and hastened thither across the seas, and chose the humble Sinai as the site of the revelation.[80]

The following Mohammedan legend presents a parallel to the foregoing:

" 'Amr ben Asi was going for a walk with al-Mukaukis at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam.[80a] Thereupon 'Amr asked him: How does it happen that this your mountain is bare, and nothing grows on it, as on the mountains of Syria? How would it be if we were to construct a river (canal) along it at the bottom leading from the Nile and were to plant it with palm-trees? El-Mukaukis answered: We find in the books that it was planted with trees, plants, and fruits, the same as any other of the mountains, and that there dwelt there al-Muḳaṭṭam b. Miṣr b. Peisar[80b] b. Ḥam b. Nûḥ. In the night when God was speaking with Moses, God made the following revelation to the mountains: Behold, I wish to hold converse with one of my prophets on one mountain from among you. Thereupon all the mountains raised and stretched themselves up, the one higher than the other, with the exception of the mountain of Jerusalem[80c], for this mountain decreased and rendered itself smaller. Thereupon God spoke to it: Why do you do this? Of course He himself knew why best of all. The mountain replied: Out of esteem and reverence for Thee, O Lord. Therefore God gave orders to the mountains that each one of them should deliver up to it some of its own plants, and the Muḳaṭṭam was so liberal that it gave up to it all its plants, with

[80] Mekhilta to Ex. 19 : 18 and 20 : 2; Mekhilta, ed. Hoffmann, p. 101. Megillah 29a; Gen. R. XCIX, 1; Mid. Ps. 68, Par. 9; Pes. R. Chap. 7, 27a; Numbers R. XIII, 3, 51d; Yelamdenu in Yalḳuṭ, Judges par. 47; Targum to Judges 5 : 5 and Jer. 46 : 18 (Codex Reuchlin, ed. Lagarde, pp. X-XI, XXXVI); Midrash to the Decalog, in *Beth ha-Midrash* I, p. 66. Cp. Aptowitzer, *M. G. W. J.*, 1921, p. 164-166.

[80a] The mountain at the foot of which Cairo lies.

[80b] More accurately, Biṣar.

[80c] Perhaps this is not simply an inaccuracy and a quid pro quo, but a conscious appellation of *Sinai* as "mountain of Jerusalem". For it occurs in the Aggadah *that Sinai is a part of the mountain of Moriah*, which left its place in order to come to the site of the revelation. Mid. Ps. 68, Par. 9. Moriah, however, is the mountain of the temple at Jerusalem, II, Chron. 3 : 1.

the result that it itself remained such as you see it. Thereupon God spoke unto it as follows: Behold, in return for that which you have done, I am going to give you a tree of Paradise or a small stick from Paradise."[80d]

(41) But Carmel and Tabor likewise were rewarded for their exertions. At Mt. Tabor there took place the defeat of Sisera and his army, and the deliverance of Israel, and on Mt. Carmel there occurred the sanctification of the name of God in the time of Elijah.[81]

(42) A parallel to the rewarding of Sinai because of its modesty is found in the following Aggadah: When God was about to create the world, the letters of the alphabet came before God with the request that the creation of the world should begin with them. The letter Aleph alone remained standing to one side and did not participate in the contention of the letters. God asked: Aleph, why are you standing to one side, and why do you

[80d] El-Kindi, *Die Vorzuege Aegyptens*, in Kalḳashandi (in "Calcaschandis Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten, by F. Wuestenfeld, *Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenshaften zu Goettingen*, XVI, 31 f). The Arabic text is found in Maḳrisi, *Kitab el-Mawa'ih wa el-I'tbar* (ed. Wiel, Cairo 1913) II, Chap. XLIII, par. 6, p. 164.

If the mountain of Zion here has the role of Sinai in the Aggadah, then the simplest explanation for this is that a confusing of the two on the part of the narrator has taken place. This is also probable. The interchanging, however, coincides in remarkable fashion with an Aggadah, according to which Sinai is identical with Mount Moriah. Hence, Sinai = Moriah = Mount Zion. Cp. Pseudo-Rashi and Tosaphot Ta'anit 16 a, voce הר. The source of this Aggadah is Midr. Ps. 68, par. 9. R. Jose says, "Sinai tore itself loose and came to the place of the revelation, like the heave-offering of the dough, and indeed it was the part of the mountain on which the sacrifice of Isaac was to have taken place. God said: the place on which Isaac was to have been offered up is worthy of becoming the place of the giving of the Law to Israel". וסיני מהיכן בא אמר ר' יוסי מהר המוריה נתלש כחלה מעיסה, ממקום שנעקר יצחק אבינו. אמר הקב"ה הואיל ויצחק אביהם נעקד עליו נאה לקבל עליו את התורה:
On the ground of this explanation there is disposed of likewise the question as to the difficulty of the identification of the two mountains which was brought into prominence especially by R. H. Chajes.

[81] Yelamdenu in Yalḳuṭ Judges, par. 47. Targum to Jeremiah in Codex Reuchlin on Jer. 46 : 18 (Largarde, *Prophetae Chaldaice*, p. XXXVI). In another form in Rashi to Judges 5 : 3 from מדרש אגדה, probably Midr. Ps. 68, Par. 9.

keep silent? Hereupon the Aleph made answer: All the other letters are of great numerical value, whereas my numerical value is small. Thereupon God spoke: Do not be afraid, for you are nevertheless the beginning of all the letters and their king, and even as I am unique, so you are one. But because you have made yourself small, I shall enhance you, inasmuch as through you the number one thousand shall be designated, and in addition to this, when I shall one day give my Torah to Israel, then I shall begin with you אנכי.[82]

(43) R. Huna, in the name of R. Jose, says: The gates (of the Temple) showed honor to the Ark, and for this reason the enemy did not get them into his power, as it is said, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates" (Ps. 24 : 7); therefore, too, "Her gates are sunk into the ground" (Lamen. 2 : 9).[83]

The explanation of this utterance we find in the following detailed narrative:

(44) When Solomon was about to bring the Ark of the Covenant into the sanctuary, he spoke as follows: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors." Because the gates were low, therefore he spoke: "Yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors; that the King of glory may come in" (Ps. 24 : 9). But the gates said, "Who then is the king of glory?" Immediately they were ready to fall down upon him, in order to crush his head to pieces, because they thought that he was designating himself as the king of glory. Thereupon Solomon spoke, "The Lord of hosts; He is the King of glory" (Ps. 24 : 10). Forthwith they showed him honor, and lifted themselves up, and the Ark of the Covenant entered in.[84] *Then God spoke unto them:*

[82] Midrash to Decalog, Jellinek's *Beth ha-Midrash* I, p. 63. Alphabet of R. Akiba, *Beth ha-Midrash* III, p. 55, ed. Wertheimer, p. 66. The rival quarrel of the letters and the rewarding of the Aleph is found likewise in the Zohar, Introduction, I, 2b - 3b. Cp. Midrash ha-gadol, ed. Schechter, p. 10 ff. In older sources the Aleph complains that it has been slighted at the creation of the world, until the Torah was given and began with Aleph. Gen. R. I, 10 and elsewhere.

[83] Lamen. R. to 2 : 9. Cp. to the contrary, the statement of Ḥanina bar Papa in Soṭah 9 a, bottom.

[84] Cp. Sabbat 30 a; Moed Ḳaṭon 9 a; Sanh. 107 b; Tanḥuma ואתה, par. 7 (ed. Buber, par. 6); Ex. R. VIII, 1; Num. R., XIV, 3; Midr. Ps. 24, par. 10.

"*You have shown honor to Me. By your life! When I shall destroy my House, then no man will have power over you.*" This you may learn from the fact that all the vessels of the Temple were carried off into exile, as it is said, "And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the House of God" (Dan. 1 : 2). But the gates of the sanctuary were hidden in the very place where they stood, as it is said, "Her gates are sunk into the ground" (Lamen. 2 : 9).[85]

This Aggadah, that Ps. 24 was spoken by Solomon as he was bringing the Ark of the Covenant into the newly built sanctuary, is known also by *Justin Martyr*, who remarks in the Dialogue, Ch. 36, that the Jewish exegetes refer Ps. 24 to Solomon: "*εἰς Σαλομῶνα, ὅτε εἰσέφερε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὃν ᾠκοδόμεσεν.*" Cp. also on this point Goldfahn, *M. G. W. J.*, 1873, p. 104.

[85] Num. R. XV, 13. Yalḳuṭ Ps., par. 699 from Tanḥuma is lacking in our editions. (וארא, par. 7, Buber, par. 6). Cp. moreover, *Beth ha-Midrash* V, 182.

The ascribing of connected Biblical texts and even of single verses to several speakers, מה שאמר זה לא אמר זה, is a familiar method of intepretation in the Aggadah. A series of examples of such a changing of the persons who are speaking, in such a way that it was not visible in the text, is grouped in Tosefta Soṭah IX; Sifre Num. par. 88; Yer. Soṭah IX, 6, 24 d f.; Mid. Samuel X. Individual examples are: Mishnah Soṭah 46 a; Sifre Deut., par. 210; Gen. R. XXI, 6; Pes. R., Chap. 7, 26 b; Gen. R. XXXVIII, 9; Tanḥuma נח, par. 18 (ed. Buber, par. 24). Cp. Ber. 12 b on II Samuel 21 : 6. Cp. Soṭah 10 b; Makkot 23 b; Gen. R. LXXX, 12; Kohelet R. to 10 : 16; and Midr. Ps. 72, par. 2.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY FROM THE JEWISH POINT OF VIEW.

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IN VOLUME I of this Annual I have considered early Christian epigraphy from the Jewish point of view (pp. 221-237) and have shown, in connection with the first manual of early Christian epigraphy by Carl Maria Kaufmann, how many threads lead from it to the science of Judaism and vice versa. This is true, to a still greater degree, of Christian archaeology, because its province is more comprehensive and its connection with Judaism is closer. I propose now to discuss Christian archaeology under the guidance of the manual by the same author forming likewise the first collection and condensation of this material, which is as rich and manifold as it is interesting and instructive.[1] The author is generally recognized as an authority in his special subject, and the excellence of his work is attested by the external circumstance that in nine years, despite the unfavorable times, especially in Germany, it was found necessary to print a new edition. Though the volume became smaller in some, due to the separation of the subject matter dealing with epigraphy, it yet became considerably richer in content by the insertion of the greatly increased archaeological literature. One may confidently follow this trustworthy guide.

The word "archaeology" originally signified history, as, for example, in Josephus, whose Ἀρχαιολογία was, essentially nothing but a history of the Jewish people. *"Not until later, little by little, did people accustom themselves to regard as archaeology that half of the general knowledge and science of classical antiquity*

[1] "*Handbuch der Christlichen Archaeologie.* Einfuehrung in die Denkmaelerwelt und Kunst des Urchristentums." By Carl Maria Kaufmann. Third edition, augmented and revised. With seven hundred pictures, sketches, and plans. Paderborn, 1922, XVIII+684 pages, 8°.

which draws directly from monuments. Christian archaeology is, accordingly, that branch of the knowledge of antiquity which has as its task the study of the monumental tradition of primitive Christianity in contrast to the literary tradition" (p. 5). To the sphere of Christian archaeology there belong all the remains of monumental character, hence not only works of art, but also products of handicraft. The seventh century is generally taken as the latest time-limit, and thus the present work goes beyond this time-limit only by way of exception. The goal is: "*the reconstruction and comprehensive perception of Christian life in the sphere of the antique form of art*" (p. 7).

This definition is somewhat too narrow for the present status of this science, inasmuch as since approximately the year 1900 the Orient too has been included, not only Egypt and Syria, but also Mesopotamia, Persia, and so forth, for which the expression "antique form of art" is not altogether appropriate. In general, the Orient has advanced to the foreground, and even Rome shows itself dependent upon it, and *Palestine just forms one of the most Christian countries*, Palestine which exhibits rather numerous Christian monuments and which, in conjunction with Syria, has exercised the deepest influence on the Occident as well as, indubitably, on the Orient. Hence, by virtue of this important circumstance, Christian archaeology is of no little significance from the Jewish point of view; it delineates *an extra-Jewish picture of the Palestine of the Amoraim, and furnishes a chapter for the knowledge of Palestine. Since it deals to a preponderating degree with Judaeo-Christians, we have here under discussion properly a part of the history of the Jewish people.* This is true to a certain degree also of the beginnings of Christianity in other ancient lands, where the starting point was Jewish. We shall see the concrete instances farther on.

Christian archaeology is a recent science, about seventy years old, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that there is as yet no Jewish Archaeology. The Jews have been called the "*most unmonumental people*" of the world. This assertion is based on the sad fact that few Jewish monuments are known. This is true to be sure, and yet one must consider that ever since the second century the Jews no longer possessed their own home,

and that even before this time they dwelt in a land which was only a passage-way, a land which served all the world-conquerors as a battle-field and, consequently, as a field of destruction. Nevertheless, there have already been discovered in the Holy Land monuments, especially synagogues, and the records are still far from being closed, since it is only recently that the excavations in the peculiarly Jewish field of the early centuries have been commenced. As far as the Jews of the Diaspora are concerned, the first to be considered would be Babylonia, which has not been explored from the Jewish point of view. The same applies also to Syria. In Egypt something has been found, and yet Alexandria, the chief seat of habitation of the Egyptian Jews, is not a field for excavation. On the other hand, it must be taken into consideration that products of handicraft betray their Jewish origin only in the very rarest of cases, since it was not the custom to provide them with a mark, such as e.g. the Shield of David, which in antiquity was not regarded as a Jewish token, in the same manner as the cross was employed among the Christians. Among the diminutive monuments of general archaeology there are undoubtedly to be found many of Jewish origin which are not able to be identified as such. The main point, however, is that it was not granted to the Jews "to sit peacefully in their own yard," but that, after shorter or longer periods, they were ever and anew compelled to take up the wanderer's staff. It is just the Christian archaeology which furnishes the proof that the Jewish people was not the "most unmonumental," as will be shown in the course of our review. We shall allow our author to speak himself as much as possible. But at first as it is in place to present herewith a brief survey of the contents of the work which is under discussion.

The work is divided into five books, twenty-two sections, and 235 paragraphs. The books are as follows:

I. Propaedeutic. Essence, History, Sources, and Content of Christian Archaeology. Pp. 1-109.

II. Early Christian Architecture. Pp. 111-243.

III. Painting and Symbolism. Pp. 245-459.

IV. Early Christian Plastic Art. Pp. 461-550.

V. Diminutive Art and Handicraft. Pp. 551-635.

An ample index, which extends over all the details and which consists of forty-seven double-columned pages (637-683) facilitates the utilization of the work, to which there is added likewise a list of the 313 illustrations. From this summary survey one can hardly form an idea of the rich and manifold contents of this scholarly book, the author of which is master of all the learned material in sovereign fashion and elaborates it without prepossession. I consider the book solely from the point of view mentioned in the heading. For all other matters I refer those interested to the book itself, in connection with which I am convinced that even from the Jewish point of view still more significant things will be found which I have not touched upon. Furthermore, if it were still necessary, I admit that I am by no means an archaeologist, but that I am bringing with me only a modest knowledge of Jewish history and literature when contemplating upon Christian archaeology. A professional archaeologist, it is self-evident, would garner in an incomparably richer harvest. I am of course thinking not of the connoisseurs of Biblical and Talmudical archaeology, but of such as are familiar with the ancient monuments together with the Jewish literary sources. Such ones may now be gained for the science of Judaism in Palestine, where in recent times there was founded a Jewish-archaeological society which has begun at Tiberias excavations of much promise and which has already achieved interesting results. After these preliminary remarks I turn to a discussion of several details under the guidance and in the order of our book. Before I proceed to do this, however, I should like to submit a proposal to the friends of Jewish science.

The author speaks frequently of the Jewish influence on the early Christian monuments, a subject which we shall consider anon. Be it remarked in general, that in recent times all archaeologists agree with the view of Joseph Strzygowski that not Rome, but the Orient, was the principal creator of the early Christian art (p. 45 ff.). Consequently Jewish influence is to be assumed *a priori*. Besides the old Galilean synagogue ruins and the Jewish catacombs there are, because of the above-mentioned reason, comparatively few Jewish monuments which go back to antiquity, and yet the study would be facilitated to a certain extent by the

listing and the systematic examination of the material which is still at hand and yet widely scattered (in Rome,[2] Paris, London, and other places). Whereas at universities and Christian seminaries such museums have been established as an auxiliary of theological instruction, the rabbinical seminaries do not possess any monuments at all, or, at least, they contain nothing worth mentioning. Indeed, it does not occur to any one to read about the Jewish monuments, and, as far as I know, such a subject of study figures in no curriculum, and there exists no Jewish archaeologist in the sense of the term employed here. That which has been accomplished in this province hitherto we owe to Christian archaeologists, to N. Mueller the above mentioned, with regard to the cemeteries, and to Kohl-Watzinger with reference to the Galilean synagogue ruins, to mention only the most prominent ones. As far as the Middle Ages are concerned, something has been written during the last years, a few monographs, but yet no work to be regarded as comprehensive even to a certain extent. *To America, which has at its disposal the means and the teaching staff, there is here offered a grateful field of activity—the founding of Jewish archaeology. It is well worth the exertion and the money of the noble.* The carrying out of this plan would not be difficult, because in such a museum first of all *copies* could be procured, which in the course of time would be able to be increased by the systematic acquisition of *originals*. Copies would be of service in instruction. In Palestine there has been founded a Jewish Archaeological Society which, let us hope, will carry on its labors successfully. This society, as is quite natural, confines itself exclusively to the Holy Land, but that which I am proposing has reference to all lands, a plan which only America would be able to carry in view of the present conditions. It would be a religious and a national achievement at the same time, even as it would be a furtherance of general science, not *only* of Jewish science. A general exhibition of the Jewish monuments would level the way

[2] The Christian Museum in the Lateran Palace contains also a "*Sala giudaica*," which owes its establishment to *N. Mueller*, the explorer of the Jewish catacomb at Rome (p. 67). See Mueller-Bees, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1919, p. VI, (Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums).

for the establishment of institutions to carry out this suggested task, a work which enthusiastic men would be in a position to accomplish. Such exhibitions have gained for Christian archaeology, in addition to the furtherance of science, noble energetic friends, concerning whom an inspiring example is found in Kaufmann, pp. 69-70. And now let us proceed to the analysis of the details.

I

In the second book, which is devoted to early Christian architecture, Kaufmann discusses first the *sepulchral buildings*. The name *catacomb* was carried over from the Christian burial-places to the Jewish (p. 114). Till now only six[3] are known of altogether, a number which is very small in proportion to the Jewish population of ancient Rome. Mueller is of the opinion "that neither the earliest Jewish catacombs of Rome are imitations of the Christian ones, as Garrucci assumed, nor that the Christian cemeteries of Rome were influenced essentially by the Jewish cemeteries in that city, but that the adherents of Judaism and of Christianity went their own ways in the formation of their sepulchral architecture" (*l. c.*). With the word "essentially" Mueller has limited his assertion, just as he himself (*Protestantische Realencyclopaedie*[3], X p. 462 f.) has pointed to "a structural relationship of some few Christian graves to the Jewish ones." Kaufmann states the fact that the *origin* of the catacombs is connected with the burial system of the Jews and of the heathens in the early period of Christianity, and regrets that "the exploration of the Jewish burial establishments of the period of the emperors, of importance especially for our province, is still in a very poor situation" (p. 115). He therefore, regards the question of Jewish influence as not yet ripe for solution.

The older burial establishments are the Jewish ones, and

[3] Nikolaus Mueller, *Die juedische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom, der aelteste bisher bekannt gewordene juedische Friedhof des Abendlandes*, Leipzig, 1912 (Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums), p. 16. The sixth catacomb was discovered in the year 1920. (Th. Reinach, *R.E.J.*, LXXII (1921), pp. 22-28 (Notizie degli Scavi, XVII (1920), p. 143 ff.).

therefore one may assume that they exercised influence over the Christian ones in their external form, if in such questions a priori conclusions would be permitted.[4]

Before a complete schism set in, there were certainly no special Christian cemeteries. Kaufmann correctly states: "Originally, Christians in Palestine, as well as in Rome and in other places, found a place in Jewish family graves, or in their own graves, which at first were not essentially different from heathen graves" (p. 115). There are no fixed data for Rome, but there are for *Palestine*. In describing the oriental catacombs Kaufmann says: "In *Palestine* the Christians utilized similar graves cut out in the rocks to those of their Jewish ancestors;', then he comes to speak of the catacombs on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and observes: "The juxtaposition of Jewish and Christian graves is reported as remarkable. Proceeding from the original entrance . . . . one arrives at a Jewish chamber five by four meters in size and two meters in height . . . . . Through a passage bordering on the left corner of the rear-wall of this chamber one arrives on the left at a more deeply lying 'cave' with three Christians graves" (p. 143).

The mingling of Jewish and Christian graves is striking only for *us*, inasmuch as the separation of the burial-places has been strictly carried out ever since antiquity. In Palestine the Jews used to bury even the heathens together with Jews. This is expressly prescribed through a maximum which is remarkable also in other respects, and which, briefly, reads as follows: "One provides for the poor of the heathens together with the Jewish poor, and one visits the sick among the heathens together with the sick of the Jews, and one buries the heathen dead together with the dead of the Jews, because of general peace."[5] This statement is found in a more detailed form in Yerushalmi, quoted no less than three times, where it reads: "In a city, where heathens and Jews live, the administrators of the poor take the contributions of

[4] The sliding grave (Schiebgrab) was taken over from Judaism (p. 123). "Such (Christian) spaces customary among Jews and heathens, have been preserved in hundreds" (p. 141).

[5] Gittin 61a: ת"ר מפרנסין עניי נכרים עם עניי ישראל ומבקרין חולי נכרים עם חולי ישראל וקוברין מתי נכרים עם מתי ישראל:

Jews and heathens, and provide for the Jewish and heathen poor, and one visits the Jewish and the heathen sick, and one buries the Jewish and the heathen dead, and one comforts the Jewish and the heathen mourners .... on account of the ways of peace."[6] The context leaves no doubt that the meaning is, that a grave also is granted to the heathen, which, however, is to be found only in the place where the Jewish graves are. Rashi to Giṭṭin 61 is of the opinion, it is true, that only the burying is meant, but that it is forbidden to give a Jewish grave to a heathen. However, this proves merely that Rashi saw things with the eyes of the eleventh century, when the separation between Christians and Jews had been sharply carried out, and when, furthermore, there were in existence only community cemeteries, whereas in antiquity the family grave was predominant. Jewish and heathen graves could very well be established next to each other. Therefore, the catacombs on the Mount of Olives with the promiscuous graves are not remarkable according to the ancient Jewish view, because it is on no account to be assumed that in this point the Judaeo-Christians should have been relegated to a position behind the heathens. The promiscuous graves, on the other hand, show that the Baraita in question is to be interpreted in the above sense. Incidentally, it may be remarked that our Tannaitic text contains in two lines all the works of "*charitas*," just as Christianity teaches it. Among the Jews there were added the ransoming of captives and the bestowing of marriage-portions upon poor brides.

Far more than architectonically have the Christian catacombs been influenced by Jewish custom with respect to their epitaphs, a fact not to be repeated here. See my paper on Christian epigraphy in this Annual, vol. I, pp. 226-235. Here, however, only two points are still to be discussed. In the chapter on *cemeterial churches* we read in our author's work, among other things, the following: "The ancient close mutual relations between the liturgical celebration and the martyrs' grave are presupposed

[6] Yer. Demai, 24a, bottom, Yer. Giiṭṭn 47c, top; 'Aboda Zara 39c, bottom. (On the subject of gifts to heathens compare Tosefta Aboda Zara 464, 21, ed. Zuckermandl). The last sentence: כלי גוים וכלי ישראל (variant ומכבסין ומכניסין) is not altogether clear.

as well-known. They are to be explained not so much on the ground of the practice of the persecutions of the Christians, for these show *how the Christians held their communal divine services in private houses under careful guarding*, and only in very rare instances did they make use of the small individual rooms of the catacombs for this purpose" (p. 153). With reference to the words italicized by me the following should be remarked: In Tosefta Berakot II, 14 (ed. Zuckermandl, 4, 24) we read: "R. Meir said: Once we were sitting before R. 'Akiba and were reading the Shema (שמע), but not out loud, because a spy (קסדור, Quaestor) was standing before the door. They answered (Rabbi Meir): The time of danger is no proof." It refers to the period of the Hadrianic persecutions when, as one may perceive, not only the study of the Torah, but also praying was forbidden.[7] The later persecutions of the Christians confirm the Talmudic report, as well as vice versa.

The other point has reference to the "burial in the proximity of a martyr, a privilege which was striven after by many" (p. 155). In Jewish history an analogy can be adduced only from a much later period, from the end of the thirteenth century. R. Meir of Rothenburg, who died in prison, remained uninterred for fourteen years, until Suesskind Alexander Wimpfen ransomed him, and had him buried in Worms. The only reward, which the noble Wimpfen stipulated for himself, was that his remains should be buried near those of the martyr.[8] Christian influence is not to be thought of in this case, because as early as in the third century we find a case in which a certain person had himself buried in the burial-chamber of the great Amora, R. Hiyya.[9]

After the sepulchral structures, the sacred structure is discussed in the second section, and first of all the *basilica*. Kaufmann introduces this chapter with the following sentences: "The oldest place for worship, after Christianity had once deserted the synagogue, was the private house, and the oldest actual structure for worship was the Cellar or Memoria above the

[7] Auerbach, *Jeschurun*, XI, (1923), 61 ff., has compiled a list of everything which had been forbidden.

[8] Graetz, *Geschichte*, VIII[4], 175.

[9] I cannot find the passage for the moment.

cemeteries. From this, through the subjoining of a rectangular, roofed-in hall, there developed a form of building similar to the forensic basilica. The taking over of the pagan basilical style took place in the Hellenistic Orient. I regard it as assured that in this development the synagogal basilical structure of Palestine from the third century on must have played a role. At any rate, it was in the synagogue for the first time that the profane basilica was adapted to the needs of a non-pagan community as a place for public worship, and was stripped of its heathenish character" (p. 157). Kaufmann refers one in general to the work by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, (*Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, with 18 tables and 306 illustrations in the text, Leipzig, 1916, 231 pages, folio), from which one can scarcely form an inkling of the results which these two investigators have reached. It will be therefore in place to give at this point a few citations from this excellent work.

After stating the fact that the synagogue had taken over the heathen form of architecture of the basilica, long before Christians had begun to hold meetings of their own, our work continues: "In the taking over of the pagan structural form, Christianity had already been preceded by the Jewish community; as a synagogue the heathen basilica had already been stripped of its profane character, and had been placed into the service of the worship of God. Regarded in this light, the synagogue appears as an intermediary link between the pagan basilica and the Christian church" (p. 219).

"Thus the two great church structures of the period of Constantine (the sepulchral church in Jerusalem, and still a second one) in Palestine display two essential peculiarities of the synagogues, the galleries, and the illumination of the interior through windows in the lengthwise walls, and this agreement is all the more important, because it is just in these two respects that the synagogues are distinguished from the pagan basilicas of the later period of the Emperors" (p. 221).

"The derivation of the galleries from the architecture of the synagogue is evident not only from the agreement in the form of the structure, but also from the fact that they were designed to serve as a place for the women. The custom, which was taken

over from the synagogue, of separating the sexes and of assigning to the women the space in the galleries, is proved, with reference to the Byzantine churches of the east, also by the testimony of various writers and by the designation of the upper sections as γυναικωνῖτις. Together with the custom there was taken over from Judaism also the structural form which had been created for this purpose. It was from Palestine first of all, or by way of Byzantium, that the elevated sections appear to have spread further to Asia Minor and as far as the west" (ibidem).

With reference to the outer-court of the synagogue our authors state: "That in the case of the synagogue, there is simply a connection with the court of the antique basilica, follows clearly from the history of the structural form of the synagogues. There is only this difference, that the outer-court now receives a new significance as a space which the worshipper must first enter upon in order to perform the ritual purification at the fountain or wash-basin, and at the same time the halls and the exedrae of the court served for purposes of instruction, which was an essential part of the task of the 'school' (Schule). Now the Christian church shares this double purpose of the outer-court with the synagogue (cp. above, p. 143), and thus one is forced to the conclusion that likewise with respect to the atrium the synagogue was the intermediary between the pagan and the Christian structural forms" (p. 223).

Also other influences of the synagogue on the Christian basilica are discussed which I recommend for perusal. In conclusion it is stated: "If the results of this investigation in a field, which is so debatable and which has been discussed in such great measure, bear up, if only partially, under the criticism of the experts, then future investigation concerning the origin of the Christian basilica, in addition to the pagan antique structures, cannot afford to pass over the antique synagogue, for the Christian church has grown up on the ground of paganism and of Judaism" (p. 227).

On p. 180 ff., in Kohl-Watzinger's book, mention is made of the great synagogue in Alexandria, and here at first the observation is made: "The clear and objective description of the synagogue (in the Talmud in several lines) furnishes more conclusive

evidence concerning the structural form than the previous attempts at reconstruction, for the most part quite arbitrary, allow one to surmise." The following result is arrived at: "That which has already been suggested by the comparison of the synagogue (of Alexandria in the Talmud) with the basilica is assured by the expression διπλόστοον[10]; the Alexandrinian synagogue contained a basilical inner space with a double setting-up of columns, in the manner of the Galilean synagogues" (p. 181).

All this sounds thus entirely differently from the brief remarks by Kaufmann on the synagogue as an intermediate link. In view of the great influence which Alexandria exercised over the entire antique culture on the one side, and which Hellenistic Judaism exercised on primitive Christianity on the other side, it is not a risky supposition that also the model of the magnificent synagogue at Alexandria, which the Palestinian scribes of the second century praise in exuberant terms, exercised an influence at the same time on the origin of the Christian basilica, especially since "*the official place of worship*" of the Christian community were, first of all, the private house and the private basilica belonging to the rich from which there were developed, e. g., the Lateran and the Liberian basilicas, as well as a number of African basilicas" (Kaufmann, p. 158). Also with regard to the private house as a place of worship Judaism served as a model. Even today in the divine service on the Sabbath the blessing of God is besought for those who appoint synagogues (viz, place the rooms at one's disposal) for praying (i. e., for divine service). This מי שברך is found already in the oldest known prayer-book, i. e., in Siddur R. 'Amram Gaon (of the ninth century). Even if the benediction was not customary in antiquity, yet the custom of holding divine worship in the private house is certainly very old, since the communities did not everywhere possess a synagogue. This already follows from the decision that the individual members of the community may be compelled to contribute for the building of a synagogue, and consequently before this the divine service was held in a private

[10] David Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 171, Note 1: דיפלסטון = διπλοστῶον.

place. Furthermore, this custom still continues today, because according to Jewish law divine service may be held without a special place of worship.

There still remains something to be said with reference to the women's partition of the synagogue. Elbogen (*"Der juedische Gottesdienst,"* p. 467) states: "The Mishna knows nothing of a fixed separation of the women."[11] The most instructive passage concerning the attendance of women at synagogue is found in the *Yalḳuṭ*, I, No. 871, where it is stated that a certain woman went to the synagogue every day early in the morning, a fact which is not reported as being something remarkable. Women were counted for the required number of seven persons necessary for community divine services, only a woman was not allowed to read from the Torah.[12] Even the school-houses were attended by women, to which they even took their children along (Ber. 17a). In view of this frequent attending of the synagogues by the women, one would expect that some statement would be made in the Talmud about the separate partition for the women. Since this is not the case, one would have to conclude that there was no "Weiberschul." Therefore the synagogal ruins revealed something *surprising* with their galleries, where the women sat separated from the men. However, this is *surprising* only because we have accustomed ourselves to look for and to find everything in the Talmud, and we believe *Quod non est in Talmude non est in mundo. This is a view which is fundamentally false.* Due to the Talmud our information regarding ancient Judaism is, in general, very one-sided. *Not only did there exist a pre-Talmudic Judaism, but there was also an extra-Talmudic Judaism. Even in primitive Christian customs and usages one may presume something of that which was popularly Jewish, since not the Talmud, but the Jewish popular life, was of influence on the first Christians, and this popular life was not given any attention by the teachers of the Talmud insofar as it did not offend against religion and morals. The ancient rabbis had just as little interest for history as did all the other scholars of the ancient world* (with the exception

[11] The references are found in the second edition, p. 574. Cp. L. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 62; Krauss, *Synagogale Alteriuemer*, p. 356.

[12] Meg. 23a (Baraita): הכל עולין למנין שבעה אפילו אשה:

of the Greeks, and of their disciples, the Romans). Of the sanctuary in Elephantine as well as of the entire Jewish military colony, no trace has been preserved in the entire Jewish literature. The sentence, *quod non est in actis non est in factis*, is to be applied to Jewish history only with circumspection, because just the records of every description were lost in consequence of the voluntary or compulsory wanderings of the Jews.

However, the parallel between the synagogue and the ancient church is not confined only to the building, but it extends also to the furniture. Only some points shall be touched on here.

"*Ambon* was the name given to a stationary piece of furniture in the middle nave of almost all Christian churches, which served as a podium or pulpit on a high structure of steps (hence the name, from the word ἀναβαίνειν, and likewise the designation πύργος, "tower"), for the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and for the sermon. The pagan cult does not offer any analogy, but the Jewish cult does, which primitive Christianity may have followed in this connection . . . . . Only the liturgical precentors set foot upon it, not the choir" (p. 187). Now with regard to subject itself, it is clear that the reading of the Holy Scriptures was taken over from the synagogue, *because there was no other cult in the ancient world which had as its goal the instruction of the believers*. The place, too, just like the institution, was taken over. In addition to the reading, the Ambon served likewise for the public worship, since the precentor had his place there. Even now-a-days, in many synagogues, in the recitation of some prayers, the reader stands on the *Almemor*, which is identical with the Ambon. In the Talmudic period this was called Bema (בימה, βῆμα), a name which is employed in the church likewise for a place. It is interesting that the Jews took over the word "Ambon," just as they did "Bema," for which, to be sure, there has been so far only a single proof.[13]

In Nehemiah 8: 4 it is said that Ezra while standing upon a tower of wood (מגדל עץ) read to the people out of the Torah.

[13] See Schuerer, *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes*, 4th edition, III, 22; Kohl-Watzinger, l.c. 141 (223), and the literature which is listed there; Krauss, *Synagogale Atertuemer*, p. 351 and p. 236.

The Septuagint translates מגדל by the word *βῆμα*, from which one can see how old the Talmudical בימה is. *In remarkable manner the name* מגדל *reappears in the Christian* πύργος. *From this fact the conclusion is to be drawn that among Greek-speaking Jews the Bema was called Purgos as well, for which, however, at present not documentary evidence is to be found.*[14]

All the synagogues, which have been discoveed in Palestine, agree in their *orientation*, "the orientation towards the religious centre of the Jewish faith, towards Jerusalem, is common to them" (Kohl-Watzinger, p. 139). This corresponds to the ancient rabbinic regulation and is still observed, with few exceptions, up to the present time. On this point Kaufmann has the following to say (p. 177): "The facing of churches towards the east is very old, and was expressed already by the Apostolic Constitutions, 2, 57. Athaenasius (Quaest. 37 ad Atiochum) would prefer to trace it back altogether to apostolic origin. It came about . . . because the east was the site of Paradise and of the redemption." Although Kaufmann states the fact that the priest prayed while facing towards the east, none the less he does not mention at all the synagogue, which undoubtedly served as the pattern. Rather does he look for another reason, which, however, was not interpreted into the orientation towards the east unti a later time.

Our author devotes a separate chapter to the private buildings (pp. 238-243), in which connection he remarks that primitive Christianity did not possess any architecture of its own with regard to the private house. He deals chiefly with emblems and inscriptions of Christian content, for the latter of which compare my remarks in this Annual, I, 228. Once there is found Ουριήλ, Γαβριήλ (Kaufmann, p. 240). The house is placed under the protection of these angels, who are to ward off the demons. Even today, in the Jewish night prayer (קריאת שמע על המטה), the four guardian angels: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, are invoked to guard him who is sleeping. The Jewish origin of this kind of inscriptions is evident from the circumstance that almost

[14] Cp. also Kohler, *J. E.*, I, 431 (and the literature): the cathedra, the altar among the mediaeval rabbis.

all of them are taken from the Old Testament, and not from the New Testament (e.g., Psalm 121: 8 on a certain house. P. 240).

II

The *third book* treats of painting and symbolism, being the most comprehensive and voluminous one. It comprises 212 pages (227-459), and is therefore exactly one third of the whole work, in connection with which a separate book is devoted to the subject of plastic art. Scarcely anything is known regarding the Jewish painting of antiquity, and yet this book is important and interesting from a Jewish point of view as well. For the most part I shall give the word to our author himself.

"The ancient home of Christian art is situated in the land of origin of Christianity, on Palestinian-Syrian soil. The ancient Christian art, which at first was of a purely symbolical character, is based upon the Jewish. Its Semitic elements become mixed with Greek elements under local influence and under the ban of the antique syncretism .... If the Occident had no creative share of the origin of Christian art, so much the more then *Alexandria* did, the most influential of the three great Hellenistic metropolises of the east. Alexandria lent Christian art its first, fixed stamp, and created its first canon of types, which was no longer purely Jewish. Indeed, the Jewish ground-work still betrays itself for a long time afterwards, just as is the case with the primitive Christian liturgy and with the oldest system of prayers. This is proved by the surprising predominance of Old Testamental scenes in the burial-caverns of Rome as well as in the Orient and in other places" (p. 248 f.).

Then Kaufmann emphasizes the point that the Christian art of Rome was determined by the Orient. He writes as follows with regard to the growth of the canon of pictures: "The increase particularly in Old Testamental subjects, points rather to Judaeo-Christian elements, and here again there is suggested, even if one does not wish to assume a decisive influence on the part of the Jewish community at Rome itself, the thought of eastern art and pattern-books." (P. 249). In the course of his contrasting of the Orient and antiquity, we read in another passage in Kauf-

man's work (p. 254): "that in addition to the antique, still another highly important factor influenced the ancient Christian art from the very beginning, namely, *the art of* Judaism, which for a long time has been scarcely appreciated."

After these general considerations Kaufmann describes first the "sepulchral cycle." Frescoes of the necropolis of the Great Oasis depict the following on dome pictures: Moses and the Israelites, Pharaoh and his retinue, the Temple of the heavenly Jerusalem, Noah in the ark, the seven virgins, the sacrifice of Isaac, the prophet Jeremiah, the prophet Jonah (three scenes), Rebecca with her retinue, Isaiah, the three youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the pit, and Adam and Zoe. "With regard to their artistic ground-work the circumstance is extremely remarkable, that only two Christian pictures are interpolated between the Old Testamental scenes, i.e., the wise virgins, and Saint Thecla. The dwellers of the oasis manifestly worked in accordance with very ancient *Judaeo-Christian patterns*, and their apparently so barbarian remains form one of the most important documents of ancient Christian painting" (p. 263).

In the representation of the symbolical signs and pictures (p. 266 ff.) the symbol of the fish is discussed first: "The acrostical solution of the word 'Ichthus' reads as follows: Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Ὑ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ). "One should remember likewise the fish as the Messianic food of the Jews!" (P. 267). The question as to whether Jewish opinion was of influence in the choice of the fish-symbol shall be left undecided, as well as the question as to whether the word Ichthus originally formed an acrostic. However, if this should actually be the case, then one would have in this fact an example for abbreviations dating from the first century, a thing which would be of significance for the abbreviation of the name of God (ה׳ instead of יהוה, and others) as well as for other abbreviations in Hebrew writings. The Aramaic papyri, to be sure, already know of the abbreviation ש(=שקל), and yet this, just because it designates an abbreviation, is not of conclusive evidence for the employment of other abbreviations, especially in written works, as is a name like Ichthus, which was coined for the mass of the people. It is remarkable that the *monogram of Christ* was formed by the interscription

within each other of *both* (and not merely of the *first*) initial letters of the name Χριστός, i.e., which thing would point to the fact that X alone did not serve as an abbreviation. Another question would be whether in this process the fear for the writing out of the complete Christian name of God did not play a role, just as was the case in Judaism. These questions are not touched upon by Kaufmann (p. 271 ff.), and I intended only to allude to them here. In many respects they are of great significance for the history of the abbreviations of words in general, but they cannot adequately be discussed here.

Noteworthy is what Kaufmann says regarding the swastika "which as a sign of good fortune and a holy symbol can perhaps pass as the oldest hieroglyph in the world. . . . . For early Christinaty the swastika sign passes as a serviceable *veiling of the cross*, and so forth." It is found already on stones of the Hallstattian epoch, in the bronze age, on Mexican monuments of the sun-worship, etc. Then Kaufmann observes as follows in the note on p. 271: "An investigation concerning the relationship of the swastika and similar Christian secret symbols to the hieroglyphs of the eastern syncretism would be meritorious. That it has recently been chosen as the emblem of a sort of union of Aryans (Germanentum!), as an anti-Semitic symbol of aggression, shows how little its history and its significance are understood." Anti-Semitic symbols and catchwords do not exactly grow up on the ground of science. On the same page Kaufmann mentions the fact that an attempt was made to find this sign in Genesis 4: 15; Job 31: 35; Ezekiel 9: 16 (read 9: 4). Accordingly, it was regarded as a symbol of Jewish origin, and yet it was chosen nevertheless. Hatred too has a logic of its own.

To the sepulchral cycle of pictures there belongs likewise the "mythological," to which a separate paragraph (109) is devoted. Kaufmann correctly observes: "The nascent Christian practice of art retained for purposes of decoration for a time only such mythological motives as possessed nothing offensive and which had long since been stripped of their idolatrous character. In these instances too a process took place exactly similar to that which occurred in the case of the sepulchral formula D. M.[15]

[15] Likewise among the Jews. Compare Mueller, *Juedische Katakombe am Monteverde*, p. 87, and Mueller-Bees. *l.c.*, p. 71.

which is equivalent to the 'dis manibus' of the epitaphs." Likewise turkey-hens, sirens, Medusas, pomegranate, fruits, and those attributes employed in the worhsip of Dionysus, etc. (pp. 278-279). Pictures of turkey-hens, Erotes, of the Muses, Amor, and Psyche, and so forth, were stripped of their mythological contents, and they served as a decoration without any symbolical significance (p. 253).

Among the decorations of the Galilean synagogal ruins, in addition to eagles, lions, and centaurs, "*human-shaped* figures likewise occupy a surprisingly large space. There too we are dealing with a question of motives which are especially popular in the Roman burial art. The garland-wearing Erotes of the main-door of Tell Ḥûm are known to be one of the most frequent decorations of the sarcophagi, which are designated as garland-sarcophagi. The winged figures, with a wreath in their hands, which decorate the middle portals in Kefr Bir'im and in ed-Dikke are a Graeco-Palestinian motive, whose origin can still be followed out clearly in the Syrian burial art." "Still more surprising are the pictures of Dionysiac content, the harvest of the wine and the pressing of the grapes, in the friezes of Chorazin. In these cases too the models were to be found in the same province as those of all the other motives. From Roman sarcophagi the picture of the gathering-in of the wine is well-known. For the most part it is Erotes who are occupied with the various tasks of the vintage. On the fragment of a Jewish sarcophagus from Vigna Randanini it is just the motive of the pressing of the grapes which has remained preserved from among the scenes represented; in the Christian burial art, on sarcophagi, and in the frescoes of the graves, the various processes of harvesting the wine in the autumn are especially frequent."[16]

Heathen, Jewish, and Christian graves exhibit the same adornment as the Galilean synagogal ruins. It is assumed that these ornaments were taken over from the sepulchral pictures. However, this is very doubtful, because it is not intelligible why the synagogue had to resort to borrowing from its burial art. It appears to be more natural that cemeteries and synagogues drew

[16] Kohl-Watzinger, *Galilaeische Synagogenruinen*, pp. 199-200.

in common from the current private art. This is only by the way, since the main question is: how could the synagogues employ the above mentioned motives? Two answers are given. According to the one, the Galilean Jews espoused a more lax practice with regard to the prohibition of pictures and figures, whereas according to the second explanation, the Jews in Galilee had received their synagogues as gifts from Roman emperors. "It was not the Jews themselves, who hardly had at their disposal the large funds for such monumental structures, who erected the synagogues on their own initiative; but rather were these synagogues established for them through foreign means, from a party which stood faced to them in a benevolent manner, yet without any deeper knowledge of their religion and of their customs. Structures which, for the most part, stand in conspicuous places and which appear as a sign of the Jewish cities, thus comparable only to the heathen temples, could not have been erected without the express sanction of the Roman state. They are best to be explained as donations on the part of Roman emperors to the Jewish communities of Galilee." Kohl-Watzinger (p. 200) refers to several examples of the founding of synagogues by heathens, expecially to the Gospel of Luke (7:1-10), in accordance with which "a Roman centurian, the captain of Capernaum, erected a synagogue for the Jews, the forerunner of the structure whose ruins have been preserved today in Tell Ḥûm. The Galilean synagogues, therefore, as imperial donations, are adjoined to an older tradition, only they surpassed all previous private accomplishments in significance and in equipment. The leaders of the Jewish communities in Galilee accepting such a rich gift must have had it carried out according to the plans of the imperial architects even in cases where details of the decoration gave rise to offense in their eyes, for they were unwilling to incur the risk of forfeiting the valuable favor of the emperors. If subsequently the Jews themselves systematically destroyed the figurative decoration, the death of the founder or the dying out of the imperial house could have provided them with the possibility of so doing."

The distinguished explorers of the Galilean synagogal ruins bring their hypothesis forward in very eloquent fashion, and one

could almost be convinced thereby. Even if one would be willing to admit that Roman emperors founded synagogues for Galilean villages and had them erected by imperial architects without consulting with the Jews concerning the matter of decoration, nevertheless one cannot get around the fact that the Jews should have been utilizing synagogues the decorations of which they considered to be idolatrous. In view of the large number of synagogues with such equipment—and there must indeed have been others, the ruins of which have not been preserved—one cannot assumed that one or two communities connived at the matter. Rather must it be taken as certain that the Galilean Jews saw nothing idolatrous in the ornamentations which we regard as heathenish, since, as Kaufmann correctly observes, they were stripped of their mythological content. Much has already been said concerning the attitude of the Jews towards the plastic art.[17] However, the main question, namely, what the early rabbis of Palestine thought regarding this point, has not been discussed sufficiently. Here too, in passing, this cannot be done, but only a few observations shall be made.

The general view is dominated by the accounts of Josephus, who reports two cases of "iconoclasm." In *Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 2 (tr. Clementz, II, p. 464) it reads: "Now Herod had, to be sure, transgressed the law in many respects, so that Judas and Matthias were not in the wrong as to their accusation. For he had had an enormous and costly golden eagle set up above the largest gate of the Temple. Now the law, however, forbids all those who wish to order their lives in accordance therewith, even to think of the setting up of sculptures, or to represent any living beings at all in sacred gifts. Therefore the above-mentioned teachers of the

[17] Cp. *J. E.*, II, 143 (Art in the Synagogue); II, 141 (Kohler, Art, Attitude of Judaism toward); Kaufmann (David), *Gesammelte Schriften*, IX-XII, p. 150-261; I, 87-103 (Zur Geschichte der Kunst in den Synagogen); Guedemann, M., *Das Judentum und die bildenden Kuenste*, in the second annual report of the Wiener Gesellschaft fuer Sammlung und Konservierung von Kunst—und historischen Denkmaelern des Judentums; Kohl-Watzinger in their oft-quoted work; Grotte (Alfred), *Deutsche, boehmische, und polnische Synagogentypen*, Berlin, 1915; Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurn*, in the latest volumes and elsehwere. Further literature is quoted by Schuerer, *Geschichte*, II[4], 65, Note 169; especially the passages listed in the index, p. 36, sub. "Bilder."

law declared that the eagle would have to be removed, even if some person were to meet with death thereby," etc. In the parallel account (*Bellum*, I, 33, 2; tr. Clementz, p. 173) the version is: "And now the time has come to defend the honor of God and to destroy the sculptures which have been set up contrary to the laws of the fathers. For it is unlawful to set up in the Temple statues, busts, or other kinds of sculptures, which bear the name of living beings. For Herod had had a golden eagle erected above the great Temple door."

In these passages Josephus declares expressly that *it is forbidden to set up sculptures in the Temple.* An image of an eagle in itself, provided that it does not serve as an object of worship, would not be something unlawful. In Mekhilta to Exodus 20:4 and 20:23 (ed. Friedman, pp. 67b and 72b, cp. Midrash Hagadol to Exodus, ed. Hoffmann, pp. 218 f. and 239) there are enumerated all the kinds of sculptures which are forbidden as *idols*. The only sculptures which were present in the sanctuary are the *two* cherubim. To this the observation is made that four *cherubim* would already be gods of gold.[18] All the more is an eagle forbidden, even if it had not been regarded as an idol and felt to be such. All the vessels of the sanctuary were made of gold, but in case of need they could be made of silver likewise, whereas the Cherubim had to be made exclusively of gold. In this respect Herod's eagle corresponded to the demands of the law, that is to say, it was made of gold, but it was not allowed to be set up in the Temple.

In the other passage Josephus relates how Pilate had the image of the Caesar carried to Jerusalem on the ensigns, "although, however, our law prohibits all images. For this reason the previous procurators had always caused the standards to be borne in advance, at the entrance of the troops into the city, without decorations of this kind. Pilate was the first one who, without the knowledge of the people, had those likenesses brought to Jerusalem at night-time and there had them set up." (*Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 1; in Clementz, p. 514). In the parallel account

[18] Mekhilta 73 b: אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב, למה נאמר לפי שהוא אומר ועשית שנים כרובים זהב (שמות כ"ה, י"ח) יאמר הריני עושה ארבעה ת"ל אלהי זהב אם הוספת על שנים הרי הם כאלהי זהב:

(*Bellum*, II, 9, 2; in Clementz, p. 215) Josephus says that it was "a serious insult to the law which prohibited to the Jews the erection of any kind of sculpture," further, that Pilate "was imploringly besought by the Jews to remove the likenesses from Jerusalem and not to undermine their ancient traditional religious statutes." When Caligula gave orders to set up his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, the Jews implored Petronius not to bring the statue to Jerusalem. He answered: "All the subjugated peoples have set up in each city, besides the statues of other gods, likewise such statues of Caesar" (ibidem, 10, 4; p. 219). In both cases the question is concerned with images of gods, for head images of the Caesar were placed likewise on the standards. Idols were not to be tolerated in the holy land, and yet *from all this nothing can be gathered with reference to the attitude of the Jews towards images of a private character.*

The ancient rabbis regarded it as necessary to prove that images of the gods were not allowed to be set up as ornaments on the gates of cities and on the entrances to streets. To Ex. 20:23, "Ye shall not make unto you any gods of silver, or gods of gold," the remark is made, "Do not say: We shall set up such things, just as other peoples (heathens) do, as decorations on the gates and entrances, sun, moon, dragon."[19] The setting up of Cherubim is expressly forbidden for synagogues and school-houses;[20] no mention is ever made of other ornaments of the synagogues.

In the Talmud only the images of idols are prohibited, and even these are forbidden only in cases where they have already been worshipped as such. If they have been broken into pieces by a heathen, then the fragments no longer pass for something idolatrous which one is not allowed to use—one may sell it, and so forth. Painted pictures in general are not prohibited, but only "raised" (plastic) ones; therefore, statues, and carved-out

[19] Midrash Hagadol to Exodus, ed. Hoffmann, p. 239; Mekhilta, ed. Friedmann, 73a. From the examples which have been mentioned above there follows that the Oriental cities used to place images of the sun, of the moon, and of dragons on the city gates. Dragons are mentioned frequently, especially in Tosefta 'Aboda Zara 5, 2 (ed. Zuckermandl, 468, 14). See the passage on in note 21). See also Yer. 'Aboda Zara, ch. 6, at the beginning.

[20] In the same passage.

images (Reliefs), and "deepened" ones (Bas-Relief), i.e., engraved ones, are allowed. In Tosefta A. Z. it is stated: "One is allowed to seal with a ring which has on it a figure. R. Hananiah ben Gamaliel said: In my father's house (patriarchal house) sealing was done by means of seals on which there were figures. R. Eleazar bar Ṣadok says: There were all sorts of figures in Jerusalem, with the exception of figures of human beings."[21]

Maimonides, gathering together all the Talmudical statements on this matter, codifies them as follows:

"Statues, which non-Jews have made as ornaments, are permitted to be used; but statutes which they have made for the worship of idols, are prohibited."[22] "As an ornament only a figure of a human being is not allowed to be made. For this reason one may not fashion a human figure either of wood, or of gypsum, or of stone. However, even this is prohibited only in cases where the figure is raised, for example, painting and wainscoting in the room, and the like. If one has painted, one receives the lash. However, if the figure was made deep (bas-relief) or if they were figures on tablets (על גבי הלוחות והטבליות), or pictures which have been woven into textile materials, then all this is permitted." After Maimonides, still on the basis of the Talmud, has mentioned the fact that seals are permitted, but that, on the contrary, the sun, moon, stars, planets, and angels are forbidden to be represented on figures, he concludes as follows: "Figures of animals and of other living beings, with the exception of human beings, furthermore, figures of trees and plants and the like, are permitted, even if the figure is raised" (Haute-Relief)[23]. Paintings are not forbidden at all, only carved work: statues and raised work. No distinction is made between private use on the one

[21] טבעת שיש עליה פרצוף מוחר לחתום בה ר' הנניח בן גמליאל אומר על בית אבא היו חותמין בחותם של פרצופות, ר' אלעזר בר צדוק אומר כל הפרצופות היו בירושלים חוץ מפרצוף אדם בלבד הרחוש העשוי כמיקהדרקון אסור ושהדרקון תלוי בו נוטלו ומשליכו והשאר הרי בה מותר יזה מין הדרקון שאסור כל שהציצין יוצאין מן צואדו אם היה חלוק הרי בה מותר:

[22] Mishna Torah, 'A. Z. VII, 6: צורות שעשאום גוים לנוי מותרין בהנאה, צורות שעשאום לע"ז אסורין:

[23] 'A. Z. III, 10-11. There is prohibited only the צורה בולטת, but not the צורה משוקעת. Gold and silver form an exception, for in their case one can be led astray, i.e., one can regard them as idols. For ציור וכיור, which Maimonides takes from the Talmud, see Levy, *Neuhebraeisches Woerterbuch*, II, 323.

hand, and synagogues and graves on the other hand. *Consequently, art is not to be banished from the synagogue and from the cemeteries according to the old rabbinical conception. Only the idolatrous side is to be taken into consideration to the effect that all these figures which were employed in the synagogues and in the cemeteries were not felt to be idolatrous, just as in actuality they did not bear this character.* Even the early Christians made a distinction between statues and other works of art, a subject to be discussed further below (p. 204ff.).

The ancient Oriental view with regard to images of gods shows how firmly established is the difference between sculpture and painting, between statue and picture. In his instructive treatise on the term "Image of God," in which he compiles the peculiar development of this term in the ancient Oriental world of ideas, Johannes Hehn says, inter alia: "Our word "image" for the Sumerian *alam*, the Babylonian *ṣalma*, the Hebrew צלם, is not altogether appropriate in so far as we thereby think primarily of a painted figure, a picture. However, the Ancient Orient does not know of such things, but "image" means any plastic representation. Whereas for us the image or picture has no real connection with the object which is represented, for the Sumerian and the Babylonian it signified the living embodiment of the person represented. The god-head is present in its image, just as it is embodied in the star . . . . There thus belongs to the images of gods and to the symbols of gods a kind of separate existence, with the result that they are thought of as separate deities, to which in writing one prefixes the divine determinative . . . .. Therefore the image stands likewise in the place of the god."[24] The deification of the images brought about the *horror* which the Jews of all ages experienced for them, but only for the statues, and not for pictures. Neither in the Bible nor in the Talmud is any mention made of the latter. It is the ancient Oriental view which was of effect among the Jews of the Orient, not the Graeco-Roman, to the influence of which we are subjected even unconsciously.

The Babylonian-Assyrian kings likewise were regarded as

[24] *Festschrift Edward Sachau*, etc., (Berlin, 1915), p. 36 f.

images of the deity. They passed as having been forgotten by the deity, as his sons. "On occasions the king of Babylon is also addressed as the "image of Marduk:" 'O king of the universe, the image of Marduk art thou in the midst of thy servants.'[25] It is therefore intelligible why the Jews were unwilling to offer sacrifices to kings and emperors, for in their opinion they were in this event images of gods, just as much as those of stone and bronze.

In the same paper Hehn brings out in detail the fact that shadow-darkness, protection, and shade are synonymous concepts to the Babylonian, and to the Oriental in general,[26] with reference to the god-heads. In this sense the word צֶלֶם in Numbers 14:9 will have to be understood: "Only rebel not against J H W H, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us; their shadow (equivalent to "their tutelary god") is removed from over them, whereas J H W H is with us." The antithesis between צל and יהוה proved that by the latter term another sort of tutelary God is to be understood. This conception had its after-effects even when people were no longer conscious thereof. The old view is petrified in the language. צל is a petrifaction. The significance of "shadow" which is here surmised is perhaps to be assumed in other passages of the Bible as well, where the word צל is comprehended as "protection."

I also propose, under the guidance of Hehn's remark, to discuss quite briefly the significance of the word זֵכֶר. It is proved that the Assyrian *zikru* (name), signifies also "being" (essence). "For the understanding of this *zikru* we must remember that, for the Babylonian, as it is well-known, the terms 'to name' and 'to be' flow together, *τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὄντων νοήματα*. Therefore to him name is identical with being (essence)."[27] In five passages of the Hebrew Bible the word זֵכֶר is understood to mean *name.*[28] Kautzsch (*Die Heilige Schrift*, 3rd edition) translates Ex. 3:15 as follows: "Jahwe, the God of our fathers, etc., has sent me to you;

[25] Hehn, ibidem, p. 48, in detail.

[26] Ibidem, pp. 39-40.

[27] Ibidem, p. 46. Cp. likewise p. 50.

[28] Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebraeisches Woerterbuch*, 16th edition, p. 199. They are: Ex. 3:15; Is. 26:8; Hosea 12:6; Ps. 102:13, 135:13.

thus do I wish to be named for all future, and thus to be called from generation to generation." Similarly, Ps. 135:13, whereas Ps. 102:13 is translated: "But Thou, Jahwe, remainest forever, and Thy name from generation to generation," because there זֵכֶר is mentioned alone, without שֵׁם. On the contrary, Is. 26:8, where both words follow right after each other, is translated: "Yea, the way of Thy judgments, Jahwe, have we waited for Thee; to Thy name and to Thy praise (לשמך ולזכרך) is our desire. Fervently do I desire Thee in the night, yea in heartfelt manner do I long for Thee in the morning," etc. In Hosea 12:6 criticism is directed against the text, the words יהוה זכרו יהוה אלהי הצבאות, "Jahwe, the God of hosts, the One who is called Jahwe." What opinion is one to form in this matter? In the preceding verse the compassion of God is mentioned, and in the following one there is an exhortation to love and justice and to hope in God. *Here, as well as in Isaiah, there is emphasized the being (essence) of J H W H*, who is merciful and kind. Therefore in all passages the word זֵכֶר will have to be translated by "essence" (being): יהוה *is My name and My essence (being) for eternal times and from generation to generation*, i.e., for all generations. At any rate, the Biblical mode of expression furnishes a parallel to the Babylonian. *Even among the ancient Israelites the name expressed the essence.* This view existed even thousands of years later, i.e., at the time of the Talmud. On the ground of its data I wrote a generation ago: "The name, which we are accustomed to regard as something accidental, is, according to the views of the ancients, an essential ingredient of the living beings and of inanimate objects, by means of which their innermost kernel becomes revealed and characterized."[29]

After this short digression, which, properly, is not a digression at all, I shall revert to the kernel of our problem, and shall attempt to prove furthermore that strict rabbinical opinion in Palestine itself was not able to carry its point through. To the above verse, "Ye shall not make besides (with) me (gods of silver and gods of gold)" the following observation is made: No one may make an altar, a table, or a candlestick in the form which

[29] *Altjuedisches Zauberwesen*, p. 117. Numerous proofs.

they have in the sanctuary, just as no house is allowed to have the form of the Hekhal, etc. No candlestick may be made with seven lamps, but one may make a candlestick with five, six, or eight lamps.[30] In spite of this express prohibition a seven-branched candlestick made of stone has been unearthed in Palestine itself in a synagogue.[31] *The strict prohibition was issued just because everything which was prohibited was broken in practice.* The circumstance that the *Menorah* actually came to be the symbol of Judaism indicates that such was the case. Wherever the seven-branched candlestick appears, whether it be on graves or in any other place, one is certain that one has before oneself a Jewish symbol. The prohibition is handed down in the name of R. Meir, a Tanna who flourished about the year 150, who had his origin in a Greek home, and was inclined towards "making the laws more stringent." *He must have been trying to oppose a deeply rooted custom, but without success*, as the succeeding ages show. From this rooted custom the interpretation of the candlestick to apply to the community of Israel was developed, which interpretation is given anonymously in the Pesikta Rabbati (296, ed. Friedmann) to Zechariah, 4, 2 (Yalkut II, 570).[32]

Worthy of attention is the universality of the prohibition of imitating the Temple and its equipment and furnishings, with regard indeed to the synagogues and the school-houses, but also to the private houses. In the Mekhilta (73 b), the following comment is made on Ex. 20:23, "*Ye shall not make with* (*besides*) *me.* Thou shalt not say: Since the Torah has per-

[30] See the passage further below.

[31] קובץ, etc., edited by N. Schlousch. (Jerusalem, 1921), illsutration there to p. 32.

[32] והנה מנורת זהב כלה (Cant. 4:7). זו כנסת ישראל כלך יפה רעיתי. Therefore כלה and כלך are brought into connection with each other. The carrying out of the picture (Klein, *M.G.W.J.*, LXV, 277) gives indication also of a later origin. For the candlestick se *J. E.*, III, 531 (Illustration); Kohl-Watzinger, 142-143, 187, and in other places. Krauss has incorrectly explained the employment of the candlestick in the Jewish catacombs by means of Prov. 20:27 (*J. E.*, III, 615 b), as though it were to be found only on graves. The oil-vessels which are portrayed on many stones (Mueller, *Die juedische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, p. 75) belong to the candlestick of Zechariah, which had "an oil-vessel on the top of it" (וגלה על ראשה).

mitted it for the sanctuary, I shall make the same thing for the synagogues and for the houses of learning; for that reason it is said: 'Ye shall not make for yourselves'." This statement is found in greater detail in the Midrash Hagadol, undoubtedly from the Mekhilta of R. Simon ben Jochai. Here the reading is: "'Ye shall not make with (besides) me,' that is to say, let no one make an altar corresponding to the altar (of the sanctuary), no table in the form of the table, no candlestick in the form of the candlestick. These are the words of R. Meir. The rabbis teach: Let no man make (build) a house (room) on the form of the Temple (היכל), an exedra (ante-room) in the form of the Temple ante-room (אולם), a court in the form of the outer-court (עזרה), a table, etc."[33] From these prohibitions it may be deduced with great probability that all these things actually took place. *The Halachic negation is a historical affirmation.* This will be the case here as elesewhere in very many connections. I have deviated to some extent from our main subject; in conclusion I would like to emphasize once more the fact that the synagogal and sepulchral monuments which in our eyes are strange, could not have excited offense among the ancients, and that I cannot accept the ornaments as a proof that the Galilean synagogues were given to the Jews as a present by Severus or another Roman Emperor. For the rest, Grotte has correctly observed in his essay on the Galilean synagogues[34] that the figural wall-pictures in the Polish synagogues of the Middle Ages "are far more doubtful, from the

[33] Mekhilta 73 a: לא תעשו לכם, שלא תאמר הואיל ונרנה חורה רשות בבית הסקדש הריני עושה בבתי כנסיות בבתי מדרשות, וכו':
does not refer only to the Cherubim, as Rashi believes. This is proved by the passage from the Midrash Hagadol, ed. Hoffmann, 239:
לא תעשון אתי שלא יעשה אדם מזבח כנגד המזבח ושלחן כתבנית השלחן ומנורה כתבנית מנורה דברי ר' מאיר. תנו רבנן לא יעשה אדם בית תבנית היכל אכסדרה תבנית אולם חצר תבנית עזרה שלחן תבנית שלחן מנורה תבנית מנורה אבל עושה של חמשה ושל ששה ושל שמונה אבל של שבעה לא יעשה אפילו של שאר מיני מתכות:
See R. H. 24 a and b. As a matter of fact there were found on graves a three-branched candlestick and one with fourteen branches (Mueller, *l.c.*, p. 71).

[34] M.F.W.J., LXV (1921), 26. On the attendance of women at synagogue, of which Grotte speaks on p. 25, compare the passage cited above in the text to note 12, Yalḳuṭ I, No 871), in whch there is mentioned the daily visiting of the synagogue on the part of a woman.

point of view of the religions, than the distorted figures of little men in Chorazin."

The synagogue of Hammam-Lif in North Africa, the mosaic of which displays loaves, fishes, and peacocks, which passed for Christian symbols, forms a counterpart to the Polish synagogues of the Middle Ages.[35] On account of these symbols it was doubted at the beginning whether the structure in question was a synagogue and not rather a church, whereas now the general opinion is that it was a synagogue. The Jews had no knowledge that the figures in question represented Christian symbols. Thus there will apply to the synagogue the same statement which our author makes regarding the Christian church, namely, that people did not see anything offensive in many of the figurative representations which were borrowed from the pagan art, for they had been stripped of their idolatrous character, and one no longer perceived anything heathenish in them.

In the discussions with regard to the attitude of Judaism towards figures and pictures, no consideration has as yet been given to Aggadah, which, as the expression of the popular view, is *historically* at least as significant as is the *Halakha*. If the law shows what *ought* to be, popular legend shows that which *is*, that is to say, how the people think. Among the Jews, where popular legend too was preserved by the religious leaders of the people, popular legend is characteristic also for the legal view. I have in mind the legend concerning Solomon's throne, which was very wide-spread, as is indicated by the various versions thereof. It has been preserved in the second Aramaic translation of the Book of Esther, in the Midrash and in other sources. There is already in existence on this point small literature, a dealing with

[35] The literature will be found in Schuerer, *Geschichte*, II[4], p. 510. Note 28. See ibidem, p. 521, and III, p. 54. Also Kohl-Watzinger, *l.c.*, pp. 142, 146, 188, 201. Concerning turkey-hens and other objects in Christian and Jewish art see our author, p. 279, and Kohl-Watzinger, p. 199-200.

[36] G. Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau and Thron in der semitischen Sagenliteratur*, Berlin, 1912 (Shcriften der Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Vol. II, Part 1). Editions of the Targum by Paulus Cassel, *Aus Literatur und Geschichte*, and by others. Latest translation by A. Sulzbach (Frankfurt an Main, 1922). The literature will be found in Salzberger's work.

the time of the composition of the Targum, the origin of the legend, and other questions.[36]

Though the basis of the legend is old, nevertheless in the course of the centuries individual motives were added to it. Accordingly, the legend may pass as a sign of the prevailing view for all these periods. Its dissemination shows that one may regard this view as being a common Jewish one. Since the legend speaks of the wise Solomon, of his throne, the like of which did not exist upon the earth, and which properly was patterned after the heavenly throne of God, there can be no question of the religion. Paulus Cassel, *Kaiser und Koenigsthrone*, (Berlin, 1874) is of the opinion that the legend goes back to Indian thrones, which is very probable. In this case it is all the more conclusive for our view. If people would have regarded such a throne as idolatrous, it would not have been annexed for King Solomon from India. According to the Jewish legend, Nebuchadnezzar, Pharoah, Ahasuerus, and other world-rulers appropriate the throne of Solomon, for which they are punished, i.e., injured, by the throne itself. From whatever side we consider this legend it shows itself capable of evidence for the popular opinion as well as for the rabbinic view, and indeed also for the post-Talmudic period, when the law became ever more stringent with regard to this point. And now let us hear briefly what the legend relates concerning the *figural* fitting-out of this throne, the eternal pride of the Jewish people.

There were six steps to the throne. Their arrangement was as follows:

On the:

First step there lay a golden bull, opposite a golden lion,

Second step there lay a golden wolf, opposite a golden lamb,

Third step there lay a golden panther, opposite a golden camel,

Fourth step there lay a golden eagle, opposite a golden peacock,

Fifth step there lay a golden cat, opposite a golden hen,

Sixth step there lay a golden sparrow-hawk, opposite a golden dove.

On the top of the throne there stood a golden dove, which held in its claws a sparrow-hawk. Other versions mention a: bear, elephant, ass, reem (wild bull?), gazelle, kid, griffin, swallow.[37] The animals and the birds talk, scream, and so forth. Still more instructive, however, is the following passage from Targum Sheni, which I present herewith in accordance with Salzberger's translation:[38]

"Above the top of the throne there stood a golden candlestick, which, according to its prescription (Ex. 37), had been made with its wicks, pomegranates, tongs, snuff-dishes, cups, and lilies. On the one side of the golden candlestick there reared themselves aloft seven golden shafts, upon which the seven fathers of the world were portrayed; these are their names: Adam, Noah, Shem the elder, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Job between them; on the second side of the candlestick there raised themselves aloft other shafts, upon which the seven pious ones of the world were portrayed: their names are Levi, Kehat, Amram, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, Medad, and among them, Hur. Above the candlestick, etc., beneath it was a golden basin, etc. Upon it Eli was portrayed, etc.. Pinehas and Hofni, Nadab and Abihu."

In every climate and in every period after the exile the Jews were conscious of the fact that the worship of idols was the gravest sin and that this prohibition applied to King Solomon the same as it applied to every Jew. Now if they had seen anything idolatrous in figures of animals and of human beings, their phantasy would not have ascribed such figures to the royal throne. Indeed, the description of the throne in I Kings 10:18-20 already mentions twelve lions, and the parallel account in II Chronicles 10:19 makes mention likewise of a lamb.[39] If figures of animals had been something shocking to the sensibilities of the Jews of Rabbinism, they would have allowed the matter to rest with the Biblical account, and would not have embellished this account still further. And this was done by Jews who were so

[37] Salzberger, *l.c.*, p. 80-86.

[38] P. 93. I am omitting that which does not come into consideration for our purpose. Cp. also Sulzbach.

[39] Cp. Salzberger, p. 55 f., where the translations also are discussed. On Job in this legend see p. 105, and Note 1.

sensitive with regard to the matter of "idolatry" that they sacrificed their lives even at the suspicion thereof. The portrayal of the patriarchs as well as of the law-giver and of the high-priest would be quite particularly striking, *if human figures, even per se, had been felt to be idolatrous.* Rather does it follow from the legend that only such statues or plastic figures passed as being forbidden as had been made for idols, which the Talmud actually mentions.[40] One must consider that the Aramaic translation of the Book of Esther was recited, or, in later times, was read before the community on the day of Purim, immaterial whether officially or privately, and indeed in oriental countries with a thoroughly heathenish population. *Even if the question of figures could still be debatable from the Halachic view, it was not so from a historical standpoint, in accordance with the surport of the Solomonic throne-legend.*

There existed among the Jews an aversion to figures, which originated from the images of the gods and from their worship, and was fostered thereby. In the case of human figures the idolatrous character was present, as a general rule, therefore the Jews felt a repugnance towards them, because they belonged to heathens. On the contrary, however, in figures made by Jews, one saw no idolatrous images, if they were not consecrated as such. Accordingly, nothing offensive was found in the figures of the Solomonic throne. *This applies as well to all figures which Jews placed in graves. synagogues, or elsewhere.*

Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Job, who, according to the throne-legend, were represented on the seven-branched candlestick, are found in sundry combinations on Christian monuments. Whether the Jews borrowed from the Oriental Christians, as the figures of Adam and Noah would seem to indicate, or whether the reverse is the case, is a question which I am unable to decide. A special investigation conducted on a wide basis would have to be undertaken.

That figures disturb the devotion at prayers is a new point

[40] 'A. Z., 41 f.; שעשאו עבודה זרה (ישראל). Non-Jews can deprive their idols of their idolatrous character by means of a stroke, or by similar methods, whereas Jews cannot do this, either with their own idols, or with those of heathens.

of view, which antiquity did not know, and which was first asserted by Maimonides. One can reasonbly doubt this in accordance with the experiences which the Christian church has had ever since it came into existence. However, there is no need to enter further into this question here, where we are concerned with antiquity. Other reasons can be asserted against ornaments of figures, immaterial as to what kind. Only a few details still remain to be discussed.

One of the oldest Christian symbols is the *dove*. "In conjunction with its Biblical mission of peace (in the story of Noah, and the three Babylonian youths) it was indeed a *symbol of the soul living in eternal peace*, probably in connection with the primitive conception of the soul as a bird" (p. 284). On a gold glass and on Jewish gravestones there have been found doves which are holding the ribbons of a bow with their bills.[41] Moreover, the conception of the soul as a bird can be proved also in the Talmud. Rabba bar Nahmani, a Babylonian academy-head, died in the year 322 as a martyr, which was announced by a heavenly voice. They looked for his body and could not find it, until they "saw birds which gave shade with their wings" and then they knew that Rabba lay there (B. M. 86a in detail). On this legend the conception of the soul as a bird has clearly exercised a decided influence. This is something quite different from the dove as the holy spirit,[42] and I know of no example from the rabbinical literature.

"The cock appears . . . now and then as a herald of light; as such Prudentius . . . celebrates him, and Hilarius and Ambrosius mention him" (p. 289). This idea was probably taken over from Judaism. When the cock crows, one is obliged to pronounce the following benediction, "Blessed be God, who has given to the cock reason to distinguish between day and night." This benediction, which still today occupies the first position in the daily

[41] Kohl-Watzinger, p. 201, where the literature is given. On the throne of Solomon there was also a dove (above, p. 187. Concerning doves and birds as sepulchral figures, cp. Mueller, p. 81-85. Ibidem, p. 67, there is a statistical list of the sculptures (see also p. 69).

[42] Cp. my article "Holy Spirit," in the *J. E.*, VI, 446 ff.

prayers, is very old;[43] it was the first praising of the day. It was a conception wide-spread among the people that only the cock knows the exact moment at which the night gives way to the light of day. That which found entrance into the liturgy was generally well-known, and the fathers of the church as well as the artists did not need to study the Talmud. It may have been an ancient Oriental conception, but it certainly reached the early Christians by way of the Jews.[44] Its relation to the light of the world beyond is a Christian reinterpretation. The Jews could not employ the cock as a motif, because they knew of it as an idolatrous offering.

"In several cases, for example, on ornaments of doors . . . . one sees below the dragon likewise a lion, the best illustration of Psalm 90:13" (p. 291). To this the observation is to be made that the ninety-first Psalm (not the ninetieth) is called the "Song against the Demons" (שיר של פגעים), and is still recited today at funerals. By means of the representation of the slaying of the dragon and of the lion, the demons are to be kept away from the house. In this case, too, we are concerned with a motive which may very well have been taken from the Jewish liturgy (cp. this Annual, I, 237). The seven-branched candlestick, discussed above, was regarded as a symbol of Judaism likewise by the early Christians, and was employed as such. "In another case one sees the overturned seven-branched candlestick as the 'end of Judaism' " (p. 291, according to Delattre, "*Lampes Chrét.*, n. 694). On epitaphs there are found the palm, vine, wreath, and crown (pp. 292-294). The first two are Jewish emblems, which Kohl-Watzinger, l.c. p. 186 ff., have last discussed in detail. It is now questionable whether the early Christians did not take over these motives and *reinterpret* them, since both of them surely symbolize Judaism. On the wreath cp. the same authors, p. 90.[45]

After the sepulchral cycle of figures Kaufmann discusses in a separate chapter the Biblical scenes in two separate divisions,

[43] Ber. 60 b; Yer. Ber. 13 c 10 (the other benediction has the same sense).

[44] Concerning the cock in general see "*Cock*" in the *J. E.*, IV, 138 (L. Ginzberg), and, in addition to the literature listed there, S. Baer's Prayer Book: עבודת ישראל, ס', p. 40.

[45] Kaufmann, p. 293, n. 2, where Psalm 80 is assuredly a misprint for 90.

first, the Old Testamental, and second, the New Testamental scenes. At the very beginning he expresses himself in the following remarkable sentences on the subject of the origin of these pictures (p. 298):

"A striking phenomenon in connection with the consideration of those cycles of pictures which illustrate the deliverance and the heavenly redemption, is the *preponderance of Jewish paradigms of the Old Testament.* It is to be explained not merely on the ground of the Jewish basis of the early Christian prayers, but it justifies also the assumption of a specifically *Jewish art*, which was already familiar with these cycles. As the place of its flowering the great Hellenistic cities, particularly Alexandria, are to be considered. Even for the increase which certain representations from the third century on received, e.g., the addition of Habakkuk in the Daniel scene, of the angel to Tobias and to the youths in the fiery furnace, of the Israelites, to Moses in the scene of the miracle of the well; or for the appearance of new types, such as the oppression and the calling of Moses, the refusal of the worship of statues, and Elijah's Assumption into heaven, there will have to be assumed less an independent creating on the part of Roman artisans than the influence of a strictly Judaeo-Christian art-centre. It will be reserved for the progressing study of Oriental finds to recognize in its separate details the pathway of this taking-over. The fresco-cycles of the "Great Oasis" and likewise Judaeo–Christian diminutive monuments of the kind of the Daniel amulet which was published by O. Wulff (*Reportorium fuer Kunstwissenschaft*, 1912, 292) allow us to have a presentiment of this pathway."

There are now described in chronological sequence pictures on which there appear the protoplasts (Adam and Eve), Cain and Abel, Noah in the Ark, Abraham's sacrifice, the passage through the Red Sea, scenes of Moses, David, the Assumption of Elijah, the cycle of Jonah, the vision of Ezekiel (the resuscitation of the dry bones, ch. 37), the Babylonian youths (Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah), Daniel, Job, Isaiah, and Jeremiah (also Susanna and Tobias). Abraham's sacrifice is represented more than one hundred times (p. 304), "the pictures of Jonah date back as far as the second century" (p. 311). "*The youths in the fiery furnace*,

always conceived as Orantes, occur approximately twenty times on sepulchral frescoes, almost as often in the sarcophagal plastic art, and less frequently on ivory works, etc." (p. 315). Daniel appears "independently (1) in the lion's den, and (2), as a slayer of dragons. The first scene belongs to the more favorite one of the ancient art" (p. 317). Among the Old Testamental pictures apart from Adam and Eve as well as from Cain and Abel—there predominate those which are mentioned in the Jewish (and thence also in the early Christian) prayers as examples of the deliverance through the might and mercy of God. The interpretations which are given to Yer. Ber. 13c are characteristic. The "*patron*" (protector) is able to deliver his client, when he is imprisoned, when he is about to be judged, but if he were to be cast into the water or into the fiery furnace, or into the den of lions, "where is he and where is his patron? God, however, delivered Jonah from the belly of the fish, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah from the fiery furnace, and Daniel from the lions' den." These were the favorite pictures. Thus it is said also in the Apostolic Constitutions (V, 7): "He who drew Jonah, alive and uninjured, after three days out of the belly of the sea-monster, and the three youths out of the Babylonian fiery furnace, and Daniel out of the jaws of the lion, this one will not fail to awaken *us*." The connection between picture and prayer is acknowledged (Kaufmann and Michel), but I wish only to observe that the matter is not to be understood as though the artists had taken the motives from the liturgy, perhaps from a prayerbook, which was not in existence at all, but rather is it to be understood, that these Biblical narratives had seized the minds of the believers, who knew them from the prayers, that they were impressed upon their memory, and that they occupied their phantasy. *The artists drew from a living well, from the soul of the people.*

Some consideration ought to be given furthermore to the Jewish sermon, of which, as far as I can see, no mention is made anywhere. The Jews did not provide for the knowledge of Scripture merely by means of the reading of the law (the Torah) and of the prophetical sections, but likewise through the explanation of the scriptures, the homily, the sermon, in a word, by means of the *Haggadah. The Haggadah is not a written work, not a book, but*

oral instruction, which flowed into collections, today available as books. Likewise in the early Christian church the instruction was first of all an oral one, in accordance with the Jewish pattern, as is generally acknowledged. The Haggadists painted by means of words, the artists with the brush and the chisel. The preacher of the synagogue dwelt with predilection on the great ancestors of the olden times, on the wondrous deeds of God, of which He deemed them worthy. Thus in the case of Abraham, Moses, Jonah, the three youths, Daniel, etc., hence these stories became known to all the strata of the people and were beloved by them. The scribe probably disseminated the Bible as a book; the main instruction, however, was carried on orally, by means of the living word. From his mouth the people heard the wonderful stories, and indeed according to the conception of the folk-teacher. Therefore the question is not to be propounded whether prayer and picture were connected with each other. This is certain, but both prayer and picture arose from the soul of the people, both drew from one and the same source, from the folk-piety, which the Jewish scribe inculcated at first directly into his own people, and subsequently indirectly into the confessors of Christianity, of Jewish as well as of heathen descent. The great pictures of the past ages, of the wondrous deliverance of the righteous from distress and death, lived in the mind of the people. This is primary; their interpretation as referring to the soul and to the future world, their symbolization, is secondary. About the cycle of the pictures of Jonah, dating back into the second century, we read in Kaufmann (pp. 311): "Among all the Old Testamental paradigms of the primitive Christian art, it, in addition to the vision of Ezekiel, expresses most clearly the great *dogma of the resurrection*; the ἐλπὶς καὶ πίστις εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Accordingly, frescoes, reliefs, gold-glasses, diptychs, lamps, and gems bring the story of the wonderful deliverance of the prophet, a favorite motive even in the early prayer-system." The Apostolic constitutions, V, 7, will serve as an example, for here the reference to the awakening of the dead is expressly mentioned.

In the Jewish prayers the conception of the resurrection does not occupy a role. The dogma of the bodily resurrection, the

"revivification of the dead" (תחיית המתים), is extensively discussed in the eleventh chapter of Sanhedrin. He who denies the resurrection of the dead has no share in the future world, it is stated in the introduction, from which one perceives that at the beginning of the second century the early rabbis were occupied with this dogma, which they sought to support by means of the threat of the greatest punishment. The dogma, however, is derived from the Torah and from other Biblical writings, but the miracle of Jonah is *not* adduced as a proof. The awakening of the dead through the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 37) is brought into connection with the three youths in this wise, that those who had been resurrected struck Nebuchadnezzar in the face (Sanh. 92 b), but the deed of Ezekiel, who reawakened to life those who had been slain, is not employed as a proof for the resurrection. It thus appears to be highly probable that the reinterpretation of the act of Ezekiel as referring to the resurrection took place for the first time in Christian circles, immaterial whether in Judaeo-Christian or in pagan-Christian circles. Whereas in the Jewish prayer the wonderful occurrences of the past ages are mentioned as acts of favor on the part of God, which were shown to the ancestors, in the Christian prayers they receive a symbolical meaning of the redemption of the soul and the resurrection of the body, which sense then passes over to the sepulchral and ecclesiastical art. Thus it will be understood why the pictures in question did not gain admittance either into the sepulchral or into the synagogal art, and likewise not even in places where decorations, even of heathenish character, came to be employed. The question which has been discussed here briefly would be well deserving of a thorough investigation.

The hope in the resurrection is found already on a Judaeo-Latin epitaph, probably dating from the beginning of the second century, in Rome. There it is said with reference to a certain woman: "Again into life, again to the light will she return. For the hope that she will be resurrected into eternity which, a veracious promise, is promised to the worthy and pious, can she therefore cherish, since she has merited it to have a seat in the most holy land." [46]Deissmann correctly observes that here it can-

[46] Mueller-Bees, *l.c.*, No. 145, p. 134.

not be a question of Paulinian influence, for the Pharisees (better, the Jews) themselves were acquainted with and disseminated the doctrine of the resurrection.[47]

On another epitaph there are found five Hebrew letters which are separated into two groups by a seven-branched candlestick. Two readings are possible, either יער אל or ישר אל. It has been assumed that יָעַר אֵל, "may God awaken," is to be read, or ישראל, "Israel."[48] "May God awaken," or, better "God will awaken," would be quite appropriate for the contents of an epitaph, and yet there is no evidence that the word יער is employed in this sense of awakening of the dead. In the great vision of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 37) there occur the expressions "Ye shall live," "I will bring you up from your graves;" in Daniel 12:2 there is employed the expression," "And many of them that sleep in the dust shall *awake*" (יקיצו); elsewhere there is employed the expression, "God kills and makes alive" (ממית ומחיה); in the Eighteen Benedictions it is said: "God gives the dead life" (מחיה מתים). The technical expression in the Mishna is תחיית המתים, "the restoring of the dead to life." In the customary Jewish liturgy for the dead (צדוק הדין) there are likewise employed the expressions ממית ומחיה, and להמית ולהחיות. The expression יער אל would be a translation of the English "may God awaken," and in the phrase there would still be lacking the reference to the dead, i. e., it would have to read: "may God awaken *him*" (יעירנו).

The reading ישראל does not yield any proper meaning, for, on the one hand, the connection of the seven-branched candlesticks to Judaism as an emblem has already been expressed, and on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the Jews in Rome, as all over the Diaspora, called themselves "Jews" or "Hebrews," but not Israelites. The name ישראל is employed only where it does not stand in contrast to other peoples, whereas in the Diaspora "Jew" or "Hebrew" is the current designation. For the rest, this epitaph is of a child, called *Juda*. I suggest that

[47] See Deissmann, p. 134 f.

[48] Deissmann, p. 162.

the vocalization should be אֵל יָשָׁר, "God is just." In Psalm 92:6 it is said: "The Lord is upright (just, ישר), in whom there is no unrighteousness." and likewise elsewhere. However, here Deut 32:4 is more appropriate, where it is said, "The rock, His work is perfect; for all His ways are justice; A *God* of faithfulness and without iniquity; just and *right* is He." The characteristic words are אֵל יָשָׁר. Even today the liturgy for the dead, which is called "the acknowledgment of the judgment" (i. e., of God), still begins with this sentence. This צדוק הדין is mentioned frequently even in the Talmud. The parents humble themselves before the will of God, just as it is prescribed to recite ברוך דיין אמת, "Blessed be the just Judge", in cases of death, a practice prevalent today, just as the words of Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; Blessed be the name of the Lord" (1:21), is spoken. Therefore with these two words the parents would be acknowledging the justice of God. Hence, there would not be expressed here a hope in the resurrection.

It could also be assumed that an abbreviation of the phrase שלום על ישראל lies before us, as in a Graeco-Hebraic epitaph from Chirbet Hebra (Palestine), from Psalm 125:5, whereby a blessing is asked for by reason of a death, 1.2., God preserve Israel from sorrow (the details will be found in Klein, *Juedisch-Palaestinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*," Vienna-Berlin 1920, p. 55). However, this interpretation is not probable, because the most important word, שלום, would be lacking.

A Greek ossuary inscription from Jerusalem—(translated by *I. Loew*, in Klein, l. c. p. 31): "Phaedon and Epictetos. Sleep of the Resurrection." Here we would have a further example of the hope for the resurrection on a Jewish inscription. Loew arrives at this translation of the Greek words κωμα του Σητου in a very complicated way, i.e., by means of the Onomastica sacra, which hardly a scholar understands, whereas a sepulchral inscription is supposed to be intelligible to everybody. Moreover, "sleep of the resurrection" itself has no sense. There is a resurrection from sleep, but no sleep of the resurrection. Inasmuch as the hope in the resurrection is not usual to being expressed on Jewish epitaphs, this interpretation must be decidedly rejected.

The "New Testamental pictures" (pp. 321-356) are equally interesting, but they do not offer any special Jewish interest, and likewise the "Iconography of God and of the Saints" (pp. 356-399), can here be passed by. However, only a few points are to be touched upon. In the section on the Christ-types one reads the following sentences: "Nikolaus Mueller[49] was the first to see in the parting of the hair of the head an expression of the Jewish nationality of the Saviour, while citing numerous other monuments in comparison. A series of half-length pictures in the Roman catacombs, for the most part, from the second half of the fourth century, forms the transition in the west to this "Jewish" type, and of these the one in the arch of the Arcosol, of Celerina in Praetextat, has been preserved the best" (p. 365). In conclusion Kaufmann says (p. 367): "As has been said, the origin of the bearded type is to be traced back to the attempt (a) to ascertain the historical personality of the Lord, and (b) to indicate his nationality likewise in the further development." Clement of Alexandria, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Didascalia Apostolorum recommend beardedness as alone worthy of the Christian. "The beard should serve him as a sign of grandeur, attest to his strength, courage, and energy, and lend him authority" (ibidem). It is not known how the historical picture was arrived at. Kaufmann mentions literary descriptions, portraits which have been handed down; on many pictures a local stamp is impressed, and there is much that is indicative of Mesopotamia, "Oriental import." If one should wish to paint the historical Christ and to signify his nationality, it would be near to consider meanwhile the living *Jewish* types. This possibility, that the artists may have taken Jews as the model, is not mentioned by our author, whereas this should occur even in the present time. From antiquity, barring the Arch of Titus, there exist no pictures of Jews. The figures on the Arch of Titus appear to represent no Jewish types, whereas the pictures of Christ of the category under discussion at least are intended to be Jewish types. It would not be uninteresting thus to investigate the extent to

[49] "Christusbilder," in *Realencyclopaedie fuer protestantische Tehologie und Kirche*,"[3] IV, 79.

which these pictures tally as types of Jews of the fourth century. As far as I know, these are the sole dates for the antique Jewish type. In speaking of the pictures C. Maria Kaufmann does not mention that "historical" types or the indication of the nationality may have been striven after. In contrast to this, pictures of angels too would enter into consideration. For bearded angels also occur. Since the fourth century Oriental types which are provided with wings have formed the model for angels, whereas older angels did not have wings. The Talmud knows only of angels with wings (see Kaufmann, page 378).

Our book devotes a separate section to the "Representations from Human Life" (pp. 399-411), which is divided into two paragraphs. In the first, ecclesiastical life is discussed; in the second, private life. Although acts of the marriage ceremony and the life occur on pictures, and although the representations from private life are numerous, none the less these pictures, ivory-carved works, etc., would hardly yield anything for the knowledge of early Judaism, for Kaufmann concludes: "The artist took his models, above all, from pagan patterns" (p. 413).

Of greater importance for us is the section, "The Basilical Cycle and the Mosaic" (pp. 412-443). First of all, a compilation of all the Jewish would greatly be desired, which, in view of their small number, would not be difficult. The Christian mosaics, on the contrary, are very numerous, and the plan which was conceived by a certain French scholar of making such a Corpus has, as the result of his death, not yet been carried out. The sentence just quoted with reference to the pagan models probably applies at first hand to the mosaics, but one perceives in the meantime from Kaufmann's representation what significant material for comparison the Christian mosaics furnish for the Jewish ones. The very fact of their being taken over from heathen antiquity is at once remarkable. "Mosaic floors, in part with Hebrew inscriptions, which probably belong to the third up to the beginning of the fourth century C. E., have been discovered in several synagogues of Palestine; thus, for example, in Kefar Kenna, where a certain Jose, the son of Tanhum, and his sons mention themselves as the makers, and in Sepphoris, where the Aramaic inscription makes mention of a Rabbi Judan, the son of Tanhum,

who donated the Moaiac.[50] In 'Ain ed-Dok there was discovered a portion of a mosaic floor of a synagogue, in which an Aramic inscription mentions the Parnas (head) Benjamin, the son of Jose.[51] No logic and no Talmudical discussion are of any avail against the facts. Since a Rabbi is named as the donor of the mosaic floor, and since furthermore, a Parnas, and also a father with his sons, are praised as the makers (assuredly as the donors), mosaic floors did not pass as tabooed, but, on the contrary, they were considered meritorious as decorations.[52]

It is now not uninteresting to learn from the Christian monuments that the mosaic art flourished in Palestine. In the paragraph concerning the canon of pictures of the early Christian basilica we read the following in our author's work: "The historical cycles had their starting-place in Palestine, the influence of which on the occident is illustrated the most clearly by the mosaics of Ravenna. Thus the pictures in the long-house of S. Apollinare nuovo give us information with reference to the total extent of this eastern cycle." It is established by documents "that at about the time when the fourth century was passing into the fifth, there arose in the occidental church interior picture-cycles, for the individual compositions of which Palestine furnished the patterns" (p. 417). Now the question must be asked, whether the mosaics of the synagogues served the Judaeo-Christians of Palestine as an incident, and through them, also

[50] Kohl-Watzinger, *l. c.* p. 145.

[51] Klein, *l.c.*, p. 69 ff., is of the opinion that the Parnas lived about the year 200. See next note.

[52] The question is discussed in Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst*, p. 456, 462; Krauss, *Synagogale Altertuemer*, p. 348 f. (with errors); Klein, *l.c.* From Meg. 22b it follows that the Babylonian synagogue had stone slabs. The question why Rab did not fall upon his face is discussed and justified *in sundry ways*. From such a discussion no *historical* conclusions are to be drawn, even though it had Halakhic effects. Klein, *Palestina-Studien* (מאמרים שונים לחקירת ארץ ישראל), II, pp. 30-38, has again discussed the question of the Mosaics, and now he quite correctly represents the view that they were not forbidden. However, he errs when he believes that Christian influence manifested itself, and that the mosaics of the synagogues originate from the Byzante period. The mosaic art originates from the heathen antiquity, from which first Jews, then Christians, took it over; at any rate, the synagogue was the first, and then the church.

the Pagan-Christians, or whether they influenced them in an altogether direct manner, not so much as to the pictures themselves, but rather as to their mosaicizing in general. There could likewise be discussed the subjects of the pictures, in accordance with the statement, which may be used in Kaufmann (p. 418 f.), that with Ambrosius (died 397, in his distichs) seventeen pictures from the Old Testament and four from the New Testament have been preserved. Prudentius furnishes a compilation of twenty-four pictures from the Old Testament and twenty-five from the New Testament. "Remarkable, in connection with these verses, is the manner of the description of Palestinian holy places, which reappears in individual cases almost word for word in occidental pilgrims' reports. One entire fourth of all the pictures clearly betrays the Palestinian stamp. Says A. Baumstark:[53] Either Prudentius had before himself a double cycle of merely local occidental mosaics or mural paintings, which cycle had arisen in accordance with Palestinian models, or he himself, while being directly under the influence of Palestinian art, wrote his verses for an occidental double cycle which first had to be created under the same influence. Whether in the one case or in the other, they are early Christian-Palestinian picture-compositions, a fact which is reflected more or less directly or indirectly in the Dittochaeum, and in accordance therewith the collection of Latin "tituli" will have to be utilized by inconographical investigation."

On p. 433 Kaufmann emphasizes very strongly the oriental covering of the church-ornaments of Rome and of other occidental places, especially of Ravenna. From our point of view it is of significance that the mosaic art flourished in Palestine, and the influence of the environment will have asserted itself here too, as elsewhere among the Jews. However, this question again would be well worth a separate investigation, whether the mosaic art of the Jews influenced the ecclesiastical mosaic art. Here the problem has been merely propounded.

The section "Early Christian Book Painting" (pp. 448-459) is of great interest even of itself, without regard to any specially

[53] Fruehchristlich-palestinensische Bildkompositionen in abendlaendischer Spiegelung, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1911, 179 f.

Jewish respects, inasmuch as it treats not only of miniatures of the New Testament, but likewise of the Old Testament. The early Christians took over this kind of art, like the musive, from antiquity. Like the classics, chronicles, calendars, and the like, so too Biblical books were adorned with pictures. The pictures had no educational purpose at all, but they were merely for the purpose of fitting out the holy books in a worthy manner. "This care was extended particularly to the calligraphy, then to the adornment and figurative illustration of the text. . . . . On the other hand, it is to be considered that the oldest Christian picture-manuscripts illustrate the Old Testament almost exclusively, and that therefore here too the thought of loans from the canon of pictures of Jewish art suggests itself. The most important early Christian miniatures are the Vienna Genesis, the Codex Cottonianus of the British Museum, the scroll of Joshua," etc. (p. 444). After describing the Codices, Kaufmann expresses himself in conclusion in the following terms with reference to the origin of the miniatures: "As regards book-painting also, the leading role played by the Oriental remains striking, and Graeco-occidental patterns, according to which the early Christian miniaturists could have painted, are not to be found; the Latin text of the Bible experienced a corresponding ornamentation in the rarest of cases. Even the artists of the Quedlinburger Itala and of the Bible manuscript from Monte Amiata, the pictures of which go back to Syrian ones, created in accordance with foreign patterns, etc." (p. 458).

Now first with regard to the worthy fitting-out of the book, this endeavor quite certainly passed over from the Jews to the early Christians. Each Hebrew book, and quite especially the Torah scroll, had to be fitted out like a de luxe copy with respect to the manner of its writing, to the writing-material, and so forth. To write a beautiful scroll of the Torah through the agency of a skilled copyist, etc., was[54] "to praise God" (Ex. 15:2.) The only

[54] See my essay, "Das Schreiben der Sefer Thora," in the first number of the periodical of the Berlin *Soncino-Gesellschaft der Freunde des juedischen Buches*. *Gold-scrolls* are discussed in my *Althebraeisches Buchwesen*, p. 159. All the rules for the copyist are instructions for the making of a de luxe copy, at least with reference to the contents.

law code which contains a special section about the making of a book is the Jewish, the instructions of which go back in preponderating part to the pre-Christian period. The veneration of a book, the worship of a book, one might say, i.e., of the Bible, originated with the Jews. Each small book is an emanation of the divine revelation. On this ground nothing could be added, and nothing was to be detracted. Thus, for example, no periods were to be placed, no letters crossed out or effaced, or the ends of the lines filled out in any manner whatsoever, as was customary otherwise. Accordingly, there is forbidden likewise the insertion of pictures. It is very instructive that among the minute prescriptions for the making of a copy of the Torah no prohibition of the making of a miniature is found, whereas there is mentioned a prohibition of writing in gold. In genuinely Jewish circles, there probably did not exist any Bibles with pictures. However, this statement can be made with absolute certainty only with regard to the Hebrew Bible; the Jews of the great Greek cities such as Alexandria, Ephesus, and others, who were steeped in Hellenism, could have taken over the practice of the adorning of books with pictures from antiquity. Among the Jews of the antique world there existed the most widely diverse gradations, and consequently Kaufmann's supposition is not to be rejected as a matter of course. Painted pictures, as I have already emphasized above (on p. 179–80), were not shocking from the point of view of the religious law. Even in the Middle Ages, when the rigorousness of the religious law had reached its highest point, there was developed among the Jews a considerable book-painting, for which, for the sake of brevity, I shall refer the reader only to two essays by David Kaufmann.[55]

III

The fourth book is devoted to "The Early Christian Plastic Art." That which might be said in this regard from the Jewish

[55] *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, p. 173-261: "Zur Geschichte der juedischen Handschriftenillustration." The pictorial cycles are in the German type of the old Haggadah-illustrations. On p. 450, N. 1, of our book Joshua too is to be added, because of the twelve stones.

point of view has already been observed in essence above, in connection with the discussion of the synagogal ornaments. It is interesting that the early Christians too, like the Jews, made a distinction between painting and the plastic art. On this subject, Kaufmann says (p. 474), among other things: "One reason for the comparative rarity of plastic works may be sought in the costliness of material and execution, and, with respect to the statuary art, perhaps *also in a certain disinclination towards statues, which is sufficiently explained on the ground of the worship of the gods.*[56] On the other side, however, it is established that immediately after the victory of the Church, the emperor set the example with the erection of Christian statues in Rome and Constantinople. From that time on there dates also that enormous impulse of the sepulchral plastic art, the flowering of which falls into the fourth to the sixth century, therefore unfortunately in the period of progressive artistic decline." He adds (p. 501). "In the preceding period of the persecutions (before the church peace), plastic art, as opposed to painting, was pushed into the background, because of reasons which had already been asserted with regard to the sepulchral relief. As regards the statuary plastic art, there was the additional disinclination towards all that which might arouse in the mind of the heathen the appearance as though we were carrying our God around in the image, according to the manner of the idolaters" (the quotation is from Eusebius, *Ad Constantiam Augustam*, Migne S. G., XX, 1548).

One sees here the same distinction which the Jews made between painting and sculpture, as discussed above (p. 179–80). The supposition may perhaps be expressed that a disinclination not only towards statues but towards the plastic art in general devolved from the Jews upon the Christians, especially in the first centuries, when a large proportion of the adherents of the new religion were still Judaeo-Christians.

In particular the following remarks are to be made. With regard to the *ornament* Kaufmann says (p. 470 f.) that its creative new formation in the early Christian period of style scarcely in

[56] The italics are mine.

any place is reflected more clearly than in the Syrio-Palestinian art. "The mingling and blending of Semitic artistic intention and classical form is indicated, to use Wulff's words, most clearly in the acanthus-leaf. The acanthus vies even with the vine-branch, which plays such a great role in this wine-growing country formerly so favored by Heaven" (p. 471). Antiquity had already prepared the ground here. The acanthus-leaf and the palmette had approached each other mutually and produced hybrid forms. "Manifold varieties, in connection with which one can be undecided as to whether one has still to regard them as a palmette or as a strongly dissolved acanthus-leaf resembling it, decorate the ornamental fragments of the Constantinian monument buildings in Jerusalem . . . . In the second and third centuries there is completed likewise the acanthicizing of the creeping tendril, which began in the earlier period of the emperors, since its stem is now completely overgrown with the attendant half-leaves. The developed acanthus-shoot becomes the basis of the Syrian, and with that, not only of the entire Christian, but, in part, likewise of the Islamic tendril-ornament of the arabesque" (p. 471).

Centuries before Constantine the acanthus was employed by early Jewish circles in Palestine as a synagogal ornament. In the course of the excavations which Nahum Slousch undertook in Hamat, near Tiberias, in the year 1920, there came to light a capital made of marble with the seven-branched candlestick, and acanthus plants underneath. Slousch has given a representation of this beautiful capital in his report on his excavations.[57] There also came to light a marble slab with an oil-pitcher, a bunch of grapes, and the Jewish acanthus.[58] Acanthus ornaments are to be found likewise on stones of the Galilean synagogues, for example, a wreath made of small acanthus-leaves in the synagogue of Tell Hum (Capernaum).[59] Acanthus ornaments can be seen even as early as in the graves of the kings in Jerusalem which date from the time before the destruction of the Temple; it is

[57] קובץ, etc., *Recueil publié par la Société Hebräique d'Exploration et d'archéologie Palestiniennes*, Jerusalem, 1921, p. 10. Illustration VII.

[58] Ibidem, p. 39, Illustration, XVI.

[59] Kohl-Watzinger, p. 15.

therefore false when Dussaud,[60] according to Clermont Ganneau, declares that all acanthus ornaments originate from the sixth century. Mazié points out that the acanthus bears the nickname "Jewish," and he promises a detailed discussion of this matter in his preliminary article which he published in Slousch's publication (p. 40-42). I must leave for those better fitted the task of drawing the conclusions with reference to the early Christian archaeology from the facts adduced.

In the chapter on "The Sarcophagal Plastic Art," we read the following in our author's book: "The oldest sarcophagi employed by Christians were taken from heathen workshops, and for the most part probably under the point of view that, where one proceeded beyond the purely ornamental, ornamentation as indifferent as possible was selected. Genre harvest pictures and turkey-hens, and pictures of the animal world of all kinds especially appear to have been harmless and popular ..... The employment of bacchic motives may be still more striking, as in the case of the sarcophagus of an *ancilla Dei* of the fourth century from the cemetery of Saint Agnes, where Bacchus is represented among the seasons, or even in the case of that splendid work from the old vatican cemetery, which exhibits a bacchanal in the gay forms of the second century" (p. 480).

This is assuredly striking, but not without Jewish analogy, In the Jewish catacomb on Monteverde at Rom, originating approximately from the first century, there was discovered a polished bowl in the form of a semi-circle, of which approximately the fourth part has been preserved. "Thereon one sees a pictorial strip 0.042 m. high, with a bacchic scene. From left to right there are represented a dancing nude maenad, a dancing unclothed and beardless man, a dancing clothed female form, who holds in her right hand a wine-skin, and in her left hand a thyrsus, and a bearded man who is clothed only around the hips, who leans on a staff with both hands and allows his glance to wander in the direction of a bunch of grapes which is inserted between him and the neighboring woman. This glass, to judge by the execution of its carving, dates from the third or from the

[60] *Les Monuments Palestiniens du Musée du Louvre*, p. 76.

fourth century."[61] Everything which was found in the cemetery, numerous glasses, and so forth, is to be regarded as a contribution of the dead. Therefore one sees that mythological scenes were not generally felt to be idolatrous. It is to be assumed that household utensils in Jewish houses were not distinguished in too great a degree from those of heathen houses. For the rest, there came to light in the catacomb which has been mentioned a marble lid which "occupied a unique position among the Jewish sarcophagi discovered hitherto, insofar as it is ornamented with the bust which was brought to light in 1878 in Rome, the bust of a deceased person who is designated by the inscription as "(de)um metuens," it furnishes the proof that the Roman Jews did not exclude portrait representations from their cemeteries" (Mueller, p. 40). This is a historical proof of what we have already emphasized above (p. 179–80) with reference to the attitude of the Jews towards painting.

The most important monument, from an inconographical point of view, of a group which is closely allied to the art of Asia Minor, the coffin of the Roman city-prefect Junius Bassus, bears the date of August 25, 359. Kaufmann describes in detail this coffin, which, in beauty of composition and in its architectural systematic arrangement as well as in its technical execution, is a masterpiece of the early Christian plastic art. In the separate scenes of the sarcophagus of the consul Bassus, in Illustration 239: the protoplasts, Job, Abraham's sacrifice, Christ with the apostolic princes (p. 489), the order, if, as I assume, the sarcophagus gives them in this succession, is striking in so far as Job is placed before Abraham, whereas otherwise the arrangement is a chronological one. The old Rabbis engage in controversies with reference to the time of Job. Many regard him as a contemporary of Jacob, even as the husband of his daughter Dinah.[62] The Syrians regarded him, as did many rabbis, as a contemporary of Moses, who also wrote down his book, from which reason Job follows after the Pentateuch in the Peshita. It is not impossible

[61] Nikolaus Mueller, *l.c.*, p. 52.

[62] See finally Guttmann, *Clavis Talmudis* (מפתח התלמוד), II, 316. See above, p. 64: on the candlestick Job is seated in the middle of the seven patriarchs, therefore before Abraham.

that there existed among the orientals likewise the opinion that Job was an older contemporary of Abraham.[63] However, this is to be regarded as nothing more than a supposition.

On a sarcophagal relief one sees Christ, at whose feet there lie a lion and a dragon, according to Psalm 90 (91): 13 (p. 498). This is indeed correct, and yet there still remains to be observed that, in accordance with the early Jewish conception, this psalm is recited as a protection against the demon, and that at funerals. To wit, the dead person is no longer able to protect himself against demons. The lion and the dragon are being trampled under foot by the saviour. Whether now the artists or those, who charged them with their commission, were conscious of this meaning of the verse from Psalms and of the picture respectively, or not, at any rate the after-effect of early Jewish opinion is to be perceived herein.

In the section "The Diminutive and Precious Plastic Art, Wood, Ivory, and Metal Sculptures" (pp. 516-550), one will indeed find much that is of significance as an analogy to old Jewish products of this kind. The chalice of Antiochia is surprising: "As the principal piece from the silver treasure of Antiochia there was made public during the world war a nineteen centimetres high, richly ornamented silver goblet of the compact form of a tureen, which was believed to belong to the first century." The relief is described in detail: Twelve vine-branches grow in pairs from the ground, and in each of twelve garlands they leave free space for one sitting figure. The figures are the twelve apostles grouped around the *Lord*. "Almost boyishly young appears the second Christ with the open scroll of the book of his law. Closed scrolls, or, at least, the staffs of scrolls, are to be found in the propped-up left hand of almost all the apostles. *Within the embrace of the arm of one apostle a praying-cord, probably the Jewish Tephillin, is clearly distinguishable.*[64] This as well as further details of the representation misled the first editor to ascribe the chalice still to the first century, especially since its external form too resembles the holy vessels of the Jews,

[63] In *B. B.* 15b-16a, Satan opposes Abraham to Job, as it appears, during the lifetime of Abraham, (See the preceding note).

[64] The italics are mine.

as is shown by figures on coins, the Arch of Titus, and other monuments of this epoch" (p. 544). Kaufmann ascribes the costly cimelia to the end of the second century.

The scroll on the arm is a genuinely Jewish motif. That is to say, ever since about the first century, it had become the custom constantly to carry a scroll of the Torah on the forearm. According to the prescription of the old rabbis, the king also is obligated to have a scroll of the law constantly with him. "Let the king have a Torah written for himself, and let him use his own copy, and not that of his ancestors, for it is written (Deut. 17:18): "He shall write him," that is, let it be written for him, etc.; it is corrected, etc. When he goes out to war, let the scroll be with him; when he returns, let it be with him; when he sits in judgment, let it be with him."[65] This ideal was followed by the scribes, of which fact I have brought numerous proofs in my "*Althebraeisches Buchwesen*," p. 86 ff. Christ and the apostles with scriptural scrolls is a picture which corresponds to Jewish custom and to the Jewish view. According to the prescription cited, the king, as which Jesus indeed was manifoldly regarded, constantly carries a scroll of the law. Even though, to be sure, antique rulers too were represented with the scroll, nevertheless I recommend the following conjecture for consideration, whether the Jewish view of the king does not play a role in the picture of Jesus with the book of the law in general.

IV

The fifth book treats of "Diminutive Art and Handicraft," and begins with early Christian textiles, first of all, with clothing. Wilpert, in his studies on dress, has pointed out that the church did not take over its liturgical garments from the Old Testament (Kaufmann, p. 553). This is very evident, because Jewish *custom*, which exercised an influence in the first rank on primitive Christianity, did not know of liturgical garments at all. The imitation of the priestly garments was directly forbidden. To Judaism likewise there applies the sentence: "The cult garments in primitive Christianity were not distinguished essentially from the

[65] Tosefta Sanhedrin 4:7.

profane garments, and were transmitted to us in this form" (p. 553).

The mantle of the philosophers was an international article of dress; the catacumbal painters clothe definite Biblical persons therewith: Abraham, Moses, likewise Jesus, the apostles, and so forth. In Christian art the pallium, immediately at its first appearance, is "a garment of distinction and of dignity, which remains withheld from the simple believer; from the fourth century onward it forms, together with the talaric tunic, the costume which is peculiar to the holy figures. According to the manner of the philosophers, on his bare body which is provided only with the loin-cloth, Isaiah wears this article of dress in the famous painting (reproduced by Kaufmann on page 327), and by way of exception, Christ and Moses too appear in this wise on frescoes of the second century" (pp. 562-563).

The Jews did not represent the Biblical characters in figures, just as they made use of figures in general only very rarely. Indeed, sculptures are to be found only in the catacomb in the Vigna Randanini, where two of the illuminated burial chambers are decorated with figures of animals and of human beings. Thus, for example, a Victoria is presenting a wreath to a youth.[66] The question now is whether anything can be deduced from these scanty figures with reference to the clothing of the contemporary Jews. One is not justified in answering this question in a negative manner as a matter of course. Another question is as to the extent to which inferences may be drawn from the drapery of early Christian figures with reference to the costume of the Jews. This question will have to be answered in a positive manner. The *dalmatic*, which at a very early date became the liturgical garment of office of the deacons (p. 565) is mentioned in the Talmud by this name. The rabbis, like the philosophers, had a mantle of their own, but no sculptures give us any information at all with regard to the manner of its constitution. Herewith only the question of the clothing of the Jews in the diaspora is intended

[66] See Mueller, *l.c.*, p. 89. The statistical list of the sculptures will be found ibidem, pp. 67 and p. 69. We have already discussed above one portrait found on a sepulchre.

to be mentioned, for the statements of the early rabbinical literature belong naturally elsewhere.

If one excepts the cross and some other items, there would come into consideration of the liturgical utensils of the church, such as, e.g., the cup, wash-vessels, and so forth (pp. 571-574). Unfortunately, very few book-containers (pp. 577) have been preserved. I do not mean the cabinet of the Torah, which is rather well-known from gold-glasses and other monuments, but the private book-cases, of which, as far as I know, no monuments have been preserved. In this connection I should like to quote the following: "The inventory of a church of the fifty century at Ibion, which has been preserved in a papyrus document, enumerates, in addition to a great number of cult objects, three papyri and twenty-one parchment books" (p. 577, n. 1). For Biblical books, according to the Jewish law, only parchment or leather, i.e., not the split, but the whole hide of the animal, could be used.[67] The strong prominence of the parchment specimens betrays the after-effect of Jewish custom.[68]

Illuminating articles have been found in great numbers in Jewish catacombs, and yet a comparison with the early Christian ones would not be uninteresting. On this point Kaufmann says: "The most numerous among all the monuments of the diminutive art are those early Christian lamps, as they have been discovered in manifold forms and kinds in the catacombs as well as in all the other Christian necropolises and places of excavation for centuries" (p. 581). He mentions a Palestinian lamp with the sacrifice of Abraham on it, in the museum of the Campo Santo (p. 585, n. 1), a museum which is the most interesting of its kind. Other Old Testamental pictures which occur on lamps are: the grape-bearing spies, the youths in the fiery furnace, the youths in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, Jonah, Daniel (in oriental costume) among the lions, and still others (p. 587). New Testamental pictures are here too more scanty in number. The palm-

[67] Blau, *Althebraeisches Buchwesen*, p. 21-29. Book-containers are discussed ibidem, p. 178 f.

[68] Cp. my paper, "Ueber den Einfluss des althebraeischen Buchwesens auf die Originale und auf die aeltesten Handschriften der Septuaginta, des Neuen Testaments, und der Hexapla" in *Berliner-Festschrift*, p. 41-50.

branch also, a Jewish symbol, occurs on little oil-lamps as a stamp (p. 585). On gold-glasses one finds also pictures which are predominatingly Old Testamental (p. 602, n. 3). Herein, as it seems to me, one may see an after-effect of that epoch in which Christianity did not as yet know of *two* Testaments, but only of *one*, a period which lasts up to about the year 150. The employment of oil-lamps in the graves had a symbolical meaning, and yet it is questionable whether the old symbol of the seven-branched candlestick, which is used so frequently on Jewish epitaphs, did not exercise an influence on the custom of the depositing of the lamp.

Among the pilgrim keep-sakes there are little capsules in which holy earth was preserved (p. 598). Pious Jews even today preserve "earth from the holy land," which is to be deposited with them in their coffin. How old is this custom? The Christian custom of antiquity furnishes for us at any rate an interesting analogy. A saucer with the picture of the sacrifice of Isaac was found on the breast of a corpse (p. 604).[69]

There can be no doubt that the saucer was placed upon the breast of the dead person as an amulet, as a means of protection against demons.

Only three pages (p. 612-614) are devoted in our book to the early Christian amulets, a fact which gives rise to a false conception of their former significance in death and life. "The best examples for all classes of amulets are furnished by the papyrus finds . . . . . In addition to the papyrus amulets, which were worn, rolled together, in the clothing or around the neck, there were employed thin little metal plates with inscriptions, thirdly, medallions and appendages with corresponding inscriptions, carvings or engravings, and finally, cut ring-stones. Almost all the phylacteries invoke the protection of God, or of definite saints, especially of the Old Covenant, in any requests whatever in superstitious manner in word or sign" (p. 612). Besides the carvings everything applies also to Jewish amulets; the invoca-

[69] In Albania there was discovered a glass saucer, with the same scene, around which eight further pictures are laid, namely: the protoplasts, Jonah (two scenes), Susanna, the youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel and the lions, the miracle of the well, and the resurrection of Lazarus (p. 605).

tions, even in cases where Jesus or Christian saints are named, are undoubtedly, to a preponderating measure, of Jewish origin, in the sense that Jewish formulae were supplemented. This assumption is already suggested by the circumstance that usually Old Testamental persons are invoked. Invocations like God, Solomon, Michael, Gabriel, and Uriel on one and the same amulet remind one of the evening prayer which is still in use today, where the same are invoked, up to Solomon, who appears to have been replaced by Uriel. For the sake of brevity I shall refer the reader to the chapter in question in my *Altjuedisches Zauberwesen*, as well as to my article *Amulet* in the J. E., and other articles on magic, ibidem, such as "Evil Eye," etc. I am mentioning all this here only for the purpose of pointing out that the study of the early Christian amulets is important as well from the Jewish point of view, just as vice versa. Our author should have referred emphatically to the Jewish amulets. This he does in the case of the *Abracadabra Abrasax*, touched upon on page 614. On an Abrasax gem in the Parisian Cabinet of Antiquities, n, 2169, represented in illustration on p. 614, there is found on the observe side twice repeated the Hebrew sentence: לחמי סלי אלי (thus with the final Mem), while on the reverse side there stands IOΥΔAS. According to Kaufmann, p. 614, n. 3, the Hebrew words are supposed to mean: "he (namely, Judas) has opposed me and my word." He who cannot distinguish between the two forms of the letter Mem cannot construe any Hebrew sentence. It therefore can only be explained that Hebrew letters were notched in from a pattern without any comprehension. A literal meaning must not be looked for in such a group of letters. A Hebrew A B C marksman could perhaps translate the sentence "he has opposed me and my word" into Hebrew by לחמי סלי אלי, but only *perhaps*; an old magician, immaterial whether a Jew or a non-Jew, would never produce such a sentence. For the rest, I doubt the correctness of the solution. In view of the immense mass of the Abraxas, W. Drechsler (*Protestantische Realencyclopaedie*, third edition, I, 113) has expressed the wish that "an academy, with the aid of Egyptologists, orientalists, archaeologists, classical philologists, and theologians, should finally undertake the listing and the critical sifting of those interesting

monuments in one Corpus." We join with Kaufmann in this wish. Magic assuredly played in antiquity a more important role than the classical literature. At any rate, it numbered far more adherents; to it there belonged the people; its clearing up will be the most important contribution to the knowledge of the spirit and the religion of the people, on the whole and in its entirety without distinction as to race.

The conclusion of the book is formed by a chapter on Christian numismatics, which, from our point of view, offers us less interest than the numerous objects of the diminutive art and much else which we have passed by in silence. For I was not concerned with the task of reworking the entire Christian archaeology from the Jewish point of view, an undertaking to which even those who are more initiated would not be equal at the present time, much less the writer of this essay. But I wished merely to point out for once in a comprehensive manner the great importance of this field of knowledge likewise for the knowledge of early Judaism and of its naturally much scantier old monuments. While I am doing this most emphatically, there stirs within me the wish to see the Jewish archaeology of the monuments collected in a work of this kind. Christian archaeology is a young science, not much older than half a century; Jewish archaeology has hardly begun to exist. In order to create such a science, many hands would have to be applied to the work, and considerable means, not least of all, would have to be at its disposal. The fact need not be believed that under the prevailing conditions American Judaism alone could supply both these things, whereby it would assure itself of an imperishable page of glory in the history of Judaism and its science. *American Brothers, a holy union for the science of Judaism, a spiritual Chevra Kadisha for the entire Judaism. This hope let us cherish.*

ḲALIR STUDIES

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NEARLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS have passed since S. J. Rapoport published his pioneer study of Elazar Ḳalir,[1] yet hardly a single one of the many problems which surround this poet has as yet been completely solved. Neither his name, nor his country nor his date have been established beyond cavil. All that we can say with certainty is that he wrote in a land, which was under Christian dominion and whose prayers followed the old Palestinian Rite.[2] The hypotheses concerning the poet are chiefly based upon his extant poetry, without taking into account his numerous lost compositions, some of which are now gradually made accessible to us from the Genizah of Cairo.[3] Indeed, even the extant and known poems of Ḳalir have hitherto not been properly understood and valued, as the following investigation will show.

As is well-known, the German-Polish Maḥzor contains a poem of Ḳalir for the Mussaf prayer of the first day of Passover and for Shemini Aṣereth, i. e. a prayer for dew תפלת טל and a prayer for rain תפלת גשם. Both poems extend only to the second benediction of the Tefilla. Both of these compositions are similarly constructed. They consist of two smaller and some larger sections. Of the larger sections, the first is composed of 11 strophes of four couplets each, successively rhymed, each two lines belonging to one letter of the alphabet.[4] Judging by its content this part

[1] זמן ומקום ר' אלעזר הקליר, in בכורי העתים, X, 1829, pp. 95ff. XI, 1830, pp. 92ff.

[2] Cf. I. Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst*, 2nd ed., pp. 310–316, 561.

[3] Cf. Elbogen, ib., p. 561, and *Studien zur Geschichte des Jüdischen Gottesdienstes*, pp. 82, 119. I am going to publish the מעמד for יו"כ נעילה from Ms. Bodl. Heb. f. 58 (2853) in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. IV.

[4] אַרשה ארש רחשון. בארש ניב ולשון
אֶתחין בחין לחשון. דבבי מלעשון
בְּעד נצורי כאישון. אפגעה בלי לישון
בְּקשה כשי נחשון. ארצה בראשון

is a prologue (רשות) by the poet introducing himself to the Congregation and praying that his petition be heard.[5] The second and third parts belong together in content, since they deal with the significance of dew and rain in the work of Creation and in the course of history of Israel as depicted in the Bible, and they close with a view of the significance of these natural phenomena in the time and the events of the days of the Messianic redemption. Inasmuch as there is less Biblical material concerning rain than dew, the author expatiates upon Creation and the days of the Messiah, presenting a number of interesting views which have hitherto not received sufficient scientific valuation. The form of both sections is the same; section two (אקשטה, אאגרה) contains twenty-two four-line strophes, the initial words of each line following the alphabet, four lines to each letter.[6] Section three (תחת, תכנם) has twenty-two couplets the first line of each strophe following the scheme of the reversed alphabet (תשר"ק) and the word in each line after the alphabetical word works out the acrostic: אלעזר בירבי קליר מקרית ספר.[7] Both sections have the same rhyme all the way through, i. e. טל or מטר respectively. Each of these two rhymes occurs therefore 110 times. The fourth section weaves together the twelve months of the year, twelve signs of the Zodiac and the twelve tribes of Israel. The section involves cosmic and astromythical connections which were probably no longer understood by the poet himself, but which were nevertheless deeply

The description of the Piutim is somewhat more detailed, because none of the prevoius authors gives a full conception of their form, neither Landshuth, עמודי העבודה, pp. 34 and 36, nor Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, p. 45. It is strange that Zunz, ibid. p. 60, has almost nothing about נשם.

[5] Cf. besides the beginning, above note 4, דעי בל יוטל רשות מלטל; לשא דעת פלילים צנתי במסלולים; ואחיצבה בסף לחלות פני יסף; שפתי בשוע אפתח

[6]
אאגרה בני איש המשרר בטל
אועד אתם לחנן בעד טל
אבשר בקהל רב זכר גבורות של
אחלה פני צורי בזיל אמרת טל

[7]
תכנס לארץ וחוצות לחצות מים
אמן לכל אחד ואחד מה יתנו מים
שקל לראש עפרות תבל לבד פלגי מים
למטר השמים תשחה מים

rooted in religious thought.[8] In the case of this section, the form is not the same for both festivals. For Passover there are twenty-one stanzas following the order of the alphabet; each stanza has four lines, each line beginning with the same letter, except that line two and four of each stanza begin with the word טל after which follows the regular letter of the alphabet. Every two lines have the same doubled rhyme. In stanzas 1, 3, 5, etc. the first rhyme is determined by the months of the Hebrew year (ניסן, סיון, איר) and in stanza 2, 4, 6, etc. by the Hebrew names of the signs of the Zodiac (תאומים, שור, טלה) the second rhyme of each stanza was selected ad lib.[9] Now since there are twelve months and twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the Hebrew alphabet has only twice eleven letters, the sections for the months Tebet and Schebat are given in two stanzas instead of in four (ק and ר); moreover since the author desired to give only twenty-one stanzas he united for the month of Adar both the name of the month and the sign of the Zodiac (in the letters ש and ת). The form of the section for נשם is much more complicated. Here the Scriptural verses from Deut. 28, 12, יפתח ה' לך את אוצרו הטוב,[10] and Isaiah 55, 10, כי כאשר ירד, are prefixed word for word before lines 1 and 3 respectively, lines 2 and 4 begin with the word מים. After these prefixed words there follows the alphabetical succession. Moreover the lines divide into halves, and the four half-lines have the same

[8] Right and wrong ideas on this point in D. Feuchtwang, Das wasseropfer etc. (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, LV, 1911, 52 ff.).

[9]
אלים ביום מחסן חלו פני מנוסן
טל אורות לנוססן להטלילם בעצם נ י ס ן
אשאלה בעדם מעז גבורות טל להעז
טל אב הבטח לשעז יתן להמתיק לעז
בשמך טל אטלה בילדות טל להטלה
טל בו איתן מטלה בדיו ירעו כמו ט ל ה
ברית כרותה לראש אבות חיליו בטל להרבות
טל בל יזיז מבני אבות להרסיס עם נדבות

By איתן Abraham is alluded to. In the second part of these sections with the independent rhyme (ברית, אשאלה etc.) we find in the sections ג to ע allusions to the tribes of Israel; Ephraim and Manasseh are enumerated besides Joseph.

[10] The verse has 23 words, however the last two לא תלוה are counted as one.

rhyme; whenever possible the fourth half-line ends in a Biblical word, which of course conditions the other three rhymes.[11] All the divisions end with Biblical quotations introduced by the word ככתוב[11a]; they can still be found in Mss. and in the older printed editions. The later editions have simply omitted them. What an astounding mastery over words Ḳalir had, what power his diction possessed, how he mastered the religious thought of his time and what ability he had of vitalizing his poetry! Then there follows in conclusion a prayer in short alphabetical lines with a successive rhyme within the strophes.[12] This prayer is very likely not by Ḳalir, but is a later addition. The evidence against its genuineness is not the fact that there are many other poems similar to it, for Ḳalir possessed great power to rework the same material many different times, but simply that the diction shows no trace of his titanic power.[13]

There is very little to say about the smaller sections. They are two five-line stanzas, each one rhyming all the way through. In Passover the first four lines are alphabetical. The first line of each stanza begins with בדעתו and תהומות respectively; the third line begins with the word טל and the fifth line connects with the

יפתח	אֶרץ לישע לשבור מטה רשע	11
מים	אֵם כזבו בפשע. זכור נם יקח נא מעט מים ותישע	
כי	אַרבות שמי ערץ. עד א ב י ב יפתחו בלי פרץ	
מים	אֵד להעלות במרץ. טרם יהיה בארץ	
יי	בידו מפתח. זולתו בלי יפתח	
מים	בצול ירתיח. חנור בני עקוד לפתח	
כאשר	בחן ושפך לב כמים. יחיו ט ל א י ו מיומים	
מים	באר חפר פעמים. לקול תחו המון מים בשטים	

In the first section 2b Abraham is alluded to, in the second, 2b, 3 and 4 Isaac and so on in each section one of the Patriarchs and the tribes, up to section ם, and then the heroes mentioned in the Mishna Taanit II (מי שענה). This poem contains 22 sections, the last two (ש and ת) treating of the respective month and its sign.

[11a] Zunz, l. c. p. 45.

[12] טל תן לרצות עמך and אֲמונים החסודים בהשכמת טל (Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte* p. 46, no. 7) for Ṭal; זכר אב in Poland, זכר נא אֵיום in Ashkenaz for Geshem. איום is to be found also in MS. of the Corfu and Romania Rite, cf. e. g. H. Hirschfeld, *Catalogue of the Mss. in the Montefiore Library*, No. 199, 8 (p. 56), 220 II 6 (p. 70).

[13] Landshuth l. c. p. 36 no. 86.

thought of the eulogy (מעין חתימה).[14] Moreover the opening words of both fifth lines indicate the acrostic אלעזר. In the two גשם poems the words אף ברי and יטריח mark the first line, and מים is always placed before the second line. The arrangement is not alphabetical, but the beginning of the lines with א and ל indicate clearly the acrostic אלעזר. The first section is at the end of the first benediction immediately before the eulogy מגן אברהם but the second is in most prayerbooks immediately after אתה גבור. But in Frankfurt as Heidenheim remarks[15] it was not recited until after מכלכל, while in the local Klaus it was not recited until after ונאמן אתה, that is, exactly corresponding to the place in the first benediction, namely, immediately before the eulogy.

II

What is the origin of these differing usages? Furthermore what is the significance of the two small sections in connection with the larger sections? Obviously the first section for Ṭal (בדעתו) as well as the first long poem (ארשה) are both prologues. Why have both of them? The suggestion of Heidenheim and Landshuth[16] that the first prologue asks permission from God and the second from the congregation, is quite unacceptable, for the second section says in several places the opposite.[17]

Furthermore, while the long sections are well rounded units, and indicate a clear building up of their ideas and development of their themes, the short sections are only fragments whose contents do not all present a complete picture.

In his explanation of the poetry of Shemini Aṣeret, Heidenheim has already observed that the two words at the beginning of the two small sections refer to Job 37,11 אף ברי יטריח עב יפיץ ענן אורו. Similarly in the two opening words of the shorter Ṭal

[14] Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, p. 213.

[15] בהרבה קהלות, ועמהן פפ"ד, גומר הש"ץ עד ומצמיח ישועה ו"א עד להחיות מתים, Heidenheim, *Maḥzor* with commentary, Pesaḥ I, Musaf; the commentary to Shemini 'Aṣeret adds וכן המנהג בב'הכנ הנקרא קלויז.

[16] Heidenheim, commentary to Ṭal, section ארשה, Landshuth, l. c., p. 34.

[17] Cf. אפנעה בלי לישון. בעד נצורי כאישון (=Israel, Deut. 32, 10); ואחיצבה בסף. לחלות פני יסף (=God, Is. 26, 19); יתנטל. בשיח תפלת טל (God=) דודי; פני רם ונשא. עין בחין אשא and passim.

poem one can recognise the beginning of Prov. 3,20 בדעתו תהומות נבקעו ושחקים ירעפו טל. Following J. Berlin[18] Landshuth noted[19] that at one time there were more of these small sections extant, each one of which began with one of the missing words of the above mentioned Scriptural verses, and that in all of the stanzas together the acrostic was complete, but as was frequently the case with the Piuṭim, these sections were omitted by the congregations and thus were forgotten. Zunz must have actually known these missing sections, for he gives for the Ṭal the beginnings of the four sections[20] which follow in the Appendix and remarks that we lack four sections of the Geshem poetry.[20a] Now the problem becomes all the more complicated. If there was at one time a complete composition of smaller sections, what relation was there between this and the other, that is, the larger sections? Was there any connection between them?

III

Our answer to this question must be in the *negative*, and Heidenheim helps us again to find the solution to this riddle. He remarks in his commentary to both festivals that corresponding to the differing usages mentioned above in regard to the beginning of the poetic interpolations, so too there are variations in the close of the poetry marking the return to the regular Tefilla.[21] He remarks however that in all the Mss., at his disposal the sentence

[18] *Maḥzor*, ed. Hanover, 1839, commentary to Tal.

[19] l. c. p. 34 no 41, p. 36, no. 82; Zunz l. c., p. 60, no. 33.

[20] *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 46, no. 15. 9 נבקעו טל כבושרו אבות ends באלפי, no. 10 ושחקים מזילים ends ליום שנים, no. 11 ירעפו פעול ends להללך, no. 12 בברכת טל מרנגים ends טל שאלתי באומר רבבות. Zunz' source is, as my friend Prof. A. Freimann of Frankfort a. Main, suggests, Cod. Paris 606, which is given here in the Appendix. I am indebted to Rabbi Julien Weill, Paris, for his kindness in providing me with the manuscript.

[20a] ibid. p. 60, no. 33.

[21] Heidenheim to the end of Ṭal:
הקהלות שהיו אומרים בתחלה (cf. note 15) עד ומצמיח ישועה מסיימים כאן ונאמן אתה וכו' ומאותם שהיו אומרים בתחלה עד להחיות מתים יש מסיימים בא"י מחיה המתים, ויש שחוור הש"ץ ואומר מלך ממית ומחיה ומצמיח ישועה ואין דומה לך בא"י מחיה המתים.
The same remark at the end of Geshem. The close ממית etc. is also used in Venice.

leading back to the Tefilla reads: לשובע ולא לרזון ממית ומחיה ומצמיח ישועה ואין דומה לך ברוך אתה ד' מחיה המתים. I can corroborate this observation. In the Mss. I have seen in the libraries of Berlin, Dresden and Munich we find Heidenheim's reading, but later readers 'improved' the text and added מכלכל חיים. Clearly the situation is that Ḳalir wrote two different compositions for both festivals and that these were brought together although they did not belong together.

One of these was a regular Ṭal and Geshem composition which, following the style of the 'Aboda on Yom Kippur or the Teḳiata of New Year,[22] was inserted only into that part of the Tefilla to which it was related, that is, in that part of the Tefilla where גבורות גשמים is mentioned. The longer sections belong to this composition; hence their unified content which close with the mention of rain and dew in the words[23] שאתה הוא ד' אלהינו משיב הרוח ומוריד הטל or מוריד הגשם.

The second composition belonged to the type of שבעתא[23a] worked out for the whole Tefilla, just as Ḳalir had worked one out for each of the four Parashiyyot also upon the basis of one Scriptural verse.[24] The objection may be raised that the Tefilla for the Festivals has *seven* blessings which would therefore require seven poems, while the verse Prov. 3,20 and Job 37,11 have each only six words[25]—as indeed Zunz counts only *six* sections for the Ṭal.[26] But this difficulty need not alarm us, since Yannai also wrote compositions for the festivals containing only *six* sections.[27]

[22] Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, 216 ff.

[23] This formula is of Palestinian origin, only in Palestine מוריד הטל was mentioned in the Teffilla, cf. Elbogen l. c., p. 44. 'Amram has no word about Ṭal and Geshem and the Sephardi Maḥzor has poetic petitions about dew and rain before the Musaf-Teffilla but nothing within (Elbogen l. c., 215)

[23a] Elbogen, l. c., p. 213.

[24] They are well known for Sheḳalim and Haḥodesh (Zunz, l. c., p. 43 no. 5, 44 no. 11), but the manuscripts contain Piutim of the same kind for Zakhor and Parah (Zunz, l. c., 44 no 7, 9) too.

[25] אף ברי is counted as one word, which Landshuth l. c., p. 36, has overlooked.

[26] Cf. above, note 20.

[27] Cf. יניי דריש שתא דר' ז' in Davidson, *Maḥzor Yannai*, p. 30f., and לפסח דר' ינאי ז' ibid. 41f. The *eulogies* are of the Palestinian type, hence

Clearly it was a well-established usage not to add poetry for the middle blessing, the קדושת היום. This section was in itself poetry, and needed no further adornment. Another problem which will remain insoluble as long as we do not possess the texts is that the name אלעזר has only five letter and we need six letters to carry out the acrostic through all six stanzas.[28] Be that as it may, the fact cannot be doubted that Ḳalir wrote two different types of compositions to Ṭal and Geshem, and that in the usual prayer-books one of these in its complete form was improperly combined with fragments of the other.

APPENDIX

Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hébreu 606.

גבורות טל למוסף דפסח דר' אליעזר[1] זצ"ל

(fol. 89a)

I ב ד ע ת ו אביעה חידות
בעם זו בזו בטל להחדות
טל גיא ודשאיה להחדות[2]
אָוֹת ילדות טל להגן לתולדות
בא"י מגן

II ת ה ו מ ו ת הדום לרסיסי כסופים
וכל נאות דשא לו נכספים

(fol. 89b)

טל זיכרו גבורות מוסיפים
חקוק בגישת מוספים
טל לְהחזיות בו נקוקי סעיפים
נטילת רשות

p. 42 שאותך לבדך נעבוד ביראה as in the note at the end (ב' ש"א) and not, as Davidson inserts, המחזיר. Likewise in p. 41 אתה בחרת is to be inserted as in p. 30, where the line before ב' האל הקדוש (or perhaps even אדיר המלוכה?) is missing.

[28] Zunz, l. c. p. 46 says nothing about it. The present article was written in 1924 and could not yet make use of I. Davidson's Thesaurus.

[1] Sic! [2] Instead of לחדות in the printed texts. The line with ד' is missing by a mistake of the copyist.

אירשה ארוש רחשון בארש ניב ולשון
את חין בחין לחשון דובבו מלעשון
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

(fol. 90a)

III נ ב ק ע ו טל כבושרו בו אבות
ילדותו לילדימו להרבות
טל כברת הר וערבות
ללא צמאו בחרבות
עכב נקדש באלפי רבבות ב' האל [scil. והקדוש]

IV אתה בחרתנו כול' ומפני חטאינו עד מפי כבודך לאמר[3]
ובחדש הראשון בארבעה עשר יום לחדש פסח לי"י ובחמשה עשר
עד כתמידי יום וקרבן מוסף[4]
מלך רחמן כול' עד בא"י מקדש ישראל והזמנים.

V ו ש ח ק י ם מזילים טל שמים
נובב שתילי פלגי מים
טל סעד אורח יומיים
ערוך לתלמידי פעמיים
זבחי רצון ליום שנים ב' שאותך[5] [ביראה נעבד scil.]

VI י ר ע פ ו פעול ביום חיליך
ציקת עב טל לייחליך
טל קנצות תלתליך
רַסָּס לפירחי הילולך
רוננים ברדת הטל בטוב לב להללך ב' הטוב [לך להודות scil.]

VII ט ל שאלתי[6] באומר נוכח פני יוצר חומר
טל שיוע ערכתי בהלל וזמר
להקדים טל לקצירת עומר
טל תרופה לרעננים
תזיל לתהומות מעננים
טל תטליל למתחננים
תעצים עוז שלום לעם
בברכת טל מרננים

[3] Sic! [4] Palestinian formula, cf. Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, p. 134.
[5] Also a Palestinian formula, Elbogen l. c., p. 56, and sec. ed., p. 518.
[6] The last stanza consists of 9 lines instead of 5; the first 4 and the last 5 have the same rhyme. Two of the first group begin with ש, four of the later with ת; the acrostic of the author's name אלעזר has been completed before, cf. above p. 222, note 28.

וכתו'[7] כי בי׳ ירבו ימיך ויוסיפו לך שנות חיים לחיים טובים תכתבנו אלהים חיים כותבינו בספר חיים וכת' ואתם הדבקים בי״ אלהיכם חיים (fol. 96b) כולכם היום. היום תאמצנו. היום תברכינו. היום תגדלנו. היום תדרשינו לטובה היום תוועדנו. היום תקבלינו. היום תשמע שועתינו כהיום הזה תביאנו ששים ושמחים בבנין שלם. ככתוב ויצוינו יי׳ לעשות את כל החוקים האלה לירא את יי׳ אלהינו לטוב לנו כל הימים לחיותינו כהיום הזה. וצדקה וברכה וחיים ושלום יהיה לנו. באי׳ מצוה כל הַבְּרָכוֹת ועושה השלום[8].

[7] Well known from the German-Polish Maḥzor for ראש השנה and יום כפור, followed like here by היום תאמצנו, cf. Elbogen l. c., 148, and Zunz, *Ritus*, 141 ff.

[8] Sic!

A DIDACTIC POEM OF ṢAHLAL B. NETANEL GAON

By ISRAEL DAVIDSON, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

IT IS NOW NEARLY a century since the name of Ṣahlal Gaon was first brought into the ken of Jewish scholars. In a letter dated July 6, 1831, Samuel David Luzzato[1] communicated to Rapoport that Samuel V. Dalla Volta, a physician of Mantua, brought him a poem of 248 lines, which he had copied from a Maḥzor Ms. After citing the first three verses of the poem, Luzzato remarked that he did not consider the composition worth the trouble of copying. He was especially annoyed by four verses,[2] which he quotes, in which the poet, calling himself by name, declared his work superior to anything that was ever written before in Hebrew. In Luzzato's opinion all that Rapoport would care to know is that there existed at one time a man by the name of Ṣahlal, who bore the title of Gaon, and that he composed a poem of 248 verses which treated of a variety of subjects, some Biblical and Talmudical in nature and some relating to Ḳabbala, Philosophy, Angelology and the occult meaning of the letters of the Alphabet.

Undoubtedly Luzzato was somewhat hasty in giving this unfavorable opinion. At that time he had probably examined the poem only in a casual way. Later he must have revised his opinion considerably. For, not only did he take the trouble to copy the entire poem, but he even went to the length of adding on the margin of his copy a number of textual corrections. He may have been led to a more careful study of the poem by the remark published in 1848 in the Catalogue of the Mss. of Michael of Hamburg that this very poem was cited in the Old Tosaphot at the end of the first chapter of Yoma.[3] The fact that R. Tam commented upon

[1] See אגרות שד"ל, p. 196.
[2] See below text, vv. 48-51.
[3] See אוצרות חיים, Hamburg 1848, p. 47.

this composition, as stated in the Old Tosaphot, was perhaps sufficient proof for him of its importance.

The first to make a detailed study of this poem was Zunz. Already in his *Synagogale Poesie* he cited it in seven different places in illustration of various phases of the liturgy.[4] One cannot help but stand in admiration before this master whose eagle eye detected even the smallest detail. A fuller study of Ṣahlal is found in his *Literaturgeschichte*.[5] After a brief analysis of the poem Zunz arrives at the conclusion that Ṣahlal must have flourished in the 11th century and that neither his name nor his style allow us to regard him of Spanish origin, both rather point to France or the Balkans, as his home. This opinion seems plausible and no one has brought forth any arguments to make us doubt it.[6] The statement of H. Jolowiz,[7] based on verses 48-51, that Ṣahlal probably belonged to an earlier period than Ḳalir is erroneous on the face of it. The mere fact that Ṣahlal employs meter proves his later origin.

As far as the personality of Ṣahlal is concerned we know no more now than before. Zunz pointed out three verses[8] in which Ṣahlal speaks of personal trials and tribulations and I would add one more such verse.[9] Zunz also gave the correct interpretation of verses 48-51. Whereas Luzzato was annoyed by them seemingly because in his opinion they were an expression of boastfulness, Zunz saw in them a plain statement of fact. According to his interpretation Ṣahlal merely wished to state that no Hebrew poet before him had ever written a poem of such great length in one uniform rhyme.[10] This merely proves that Ṣahlal was unaware of Gabirol's Azharot. A comparison between Ṣahlal's poem and the Azharot of Gabirol from the point of rhyme alone must lead us to

[4] See *Synagogale Poesie*, Berlin 1855, pp. 103, 129, 132, 217, 475, 480, 481.

[5] *Literaturgeschichte der S. P.*, Berlin 1865, pp. 123-125 and 609, note 11.

[6] See also Elbogen, *Der judische Gottesdienst*, p. 331, which contains a resume of Zunz's account.

[7] See H. Jolowicz, *The First Epistle of Baruch, translated from the Syriac*, London 1855, p. 6.

[8] Verses 33, 40, 42.

[9] Verse 6.

[10] See *Litg.*, p. 124.

the opinion that the former belonged to a much earlier stage in the development of Hebrew poetry, or at least that he never came under the influence of the Spanish school. In all the 256 words ending in רי"ם which constitute the rhyming words of the Azharot there is not one which presents any linguistic difficulty, whereas the 251 similarly rhyming words in Ṣahlal's poem bristle with difficulties. One must not however take this peculiarity of language as positive proof of its antiquity, we find it among later authors, and in fact our poem reminds us considerably of Abraham Bedarshi's חרב המתהפכת. One more characteristic of the poem should be pointed out and that is that it is written in the form of a Ḳasida, the last hemistich being, identical with the first.

As to the number of verses of Ṣahlal's poem, it seems quite certain that in its original form it contained only 248, corresponding to the supposed number of anatomical parts in the human body.[11] But the version of R. Tam had only 247 which led him to correct the text,[12] while our text consists of 251. In the notes to the text I have shown that verse 132 is superfluous.[13] If this be correct it would seem that some later hand added two verses to bring their number to 250, perhaps with the object of making this number equal to the numerical value of the letters רי"ם with which the verses rhyme.

The subject matter of the poem is of unusual interest. Although in the opinion of Zunz it was probably intended as a hymn for the Sabbath of Hanukka,[14] it has but very little of the character of a purely religious hymn. After a number of introductory verses the poet turns his attention to the wonders of nature, such as the spider's skill of spinning, the bee's monarchical order of life, the phenomenon of rain, God's care of the bird and the wild animal, the human embryo. From these topics he proceeds to discuss the stars and the angels that are supposed to inhabit them. Then he passes on to an elucidation of the entire creation as given in the Sepher Yeṣirah. Ṣahlal, it seems, is the

[11] Comp. verse 3: אחו הודו...למספר כל נתחים בי עצורים and verse 46: ובתי שיר למספר כל נתחי לך אשיר.

[12] Comp. תוספות ישנים to Yoma 21b. See also note 172 to the text.

[13] See note 82 to the text.

[14] Hanukka is mentioned explicitly in verse 240.

first to use the doctrine of the Sepher Yeṣirah as subject matter for poetry. And although there are a number of differences between our poem and the Sepher Yeṣirah they are only of a minor character, such as a poet would allow himself to make. The last 95 verses are devoted to a rapid survey of Jewish history, beginning with Jacob and going down to the Maccabees. It is thus not a *mixtum compositum* as Luzzato seemed to think but a composition with a well defined plan.

The linguistic side of the poem is no less interesting. Judged by this standard Ṣahlal belongs to the school of Yannai and Kalir. He uses bi-literal root formations, coins new words in abundance and indulges freely in alliteration.[15] For the student of Mediaeval Hebrew his poem yields a good deal of material. It is however not necessary to list these linguistic peculiarities here since they are all pointed out in the notes to the text.

There remains only to say a few words about the Ms. from which the text is copied. It is quite safe to assume that the Maḥzor Ms. used by Dalla Volta is the identical Ms. which came afterwards in the possession of Michael and which later became the property of the Bodleian Library and is now described in Neubauer's Catalogue No. 1098. Our poem is found in section XXI, 10. Whether Luzzato made his copy from Dalla Volta's copy or from the Maḥzor Ms. cannot be stated definitely. It is most unlikely that Luzzato would rely on a secondary source, especially since he did not hold Dalla Volta's scholarship in great esteem.[16] However that may be, Luzzato's copy[17] came afterwards into the possession of Halberstam and is now forming the first fascicle of a collection of copies and letters of Luzzato in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. For the use of it, I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor Alexander Marx, who brought it to my attention and with his usual courtesy placed it at my disposal.

[15] Comp. especially verses: 169-171, 178, 179, 184-193, 196-207.

[16] See שד"ל, אגרות, p. 196: גם כי לא רב כחו בחבונה הנה תמיד הוא מחפש וגולל ספרים.

[17] Listed in the Catalogue of his Mss. by his son (Padua 1868) under No. 112 as follows: מהלל יעקב אתן, שבח דרב צהלל נאון בן רב נתנאל נאון זצ"ל.

Ff 3. in 4°. ecriture de m. P. distiques 252." This number is due to the fact that the cataloguer counted also the superscription as part of the poem, or he may have counted the colophon which reads: נשלם השבח חזק ונתחזק לא יוזק איזק.

אכתוב שבח מפואר מפומיה דרב צהלל גאון ב׳ רב נתנאל גאון זצ״ל

‖– ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – –
– ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – –

לְצוּר יַעֲקֹב[1] אֶתַּן[2] מַהֲלָל וְשִׁירִים
וְאוֹדֶנּוּ לְעֵינֵי כָל יְצוּרִים
וְיַחוּדוֹ אֲנִי אָעִיד בְּכָל יוֹם
וְהוֹד זִכְרוֹ בְּכָל אַיִם וְאוּרִים[3]
אֶחָד[4] הוֹדוֹ בְּקֶרֶב עַם מְיַחֲדוֹ
לְמִסְפַּר כָּל נָתָחִים בִּי עֲצוּרִים
וְגַם נָאֶה לְהוֹדוֹת לוֹ בְּיוֹתֵר
בְּמַהֲלָלִים מְשֻׁבָּחִים הֲדוּרִים
5 אֲבָל כְּמְעַט לְפִי כֹחִי וְחֵילִי
אֲהַלֵּל שֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ בַּאֲמָרִים
אֲשֶׁר יִשַּׂר[5] עֲלֵי קָמַי פְּעָמַי
וּמְאוֹיְבַי עֲצָמַי הֵם שְׁמוּרִים
וּמְשַׁחֵל וּמְנַמֵּר מְשַׁמֵּר
יְרַאְיו שֶׁבְּלִבָּם הֵם יְגוֹרִים[6]
וּמְקֻטָּב אֲשֶׁר יָשׁוֹד יְמַלֵּט

[1] For the sake of the meter the *sheva mobile* is to be regarded here as a plain sheva and so also in many other passages throughout the poem.

[2] Comp. Jud. 5, 11: יתנו צדקות ה׳.

[3] Comp. Is. 24, 15: באירים כבדו ה׳ באיי הים.

[4] Comp. Ps. 19, 3: ולילה ללילה יחוה דעת. This verse is cited in a slightly corrupt form in תוספות ישנים at the end of the first chapter of Yoma (21b) as follows: אתן את הודו בקרב עם מיחדו למספר כל נתחים בי עצור.

[5] Ms. reads: אישר, emended by Luzzato on the margin.

[6] Comp. Jer. 22, 25: אתה יגור מפניהם.

חֲרָדִים מִדְּבָרָיו הַבְּרוּרִים
וְלֹא בָזָה וְלֹא שִׁקֵּץ עֱנוּת דָּל
וְלֹא מָאַס וְלֹא נָעַל צְעִירִים
לְפָנָיו הֵם גְּדוֹלִים כַּצְּעִירִים
וְלֹא נָשָׂא פְּנֵי שָׂרִים עֲשִׁירִים
וְכָל עָמוּם[7] וְכָל סָתוּם מְגַלֶּה
אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ חֲשֵׁכִים[8] לוֹ כְּאוֹרִים
וְהַלַּיְלָה כְּיוֹם יָאִיר לְמוּלוֹ
וּמַבִּיט כֹּל בְּלִי נֵרוֹת וְאוֹרִים
וְשׁוֹמֵעַ בְּלִי יַגִּיד וּמַשְׁמִיעַ[9]
בְּלֹא מִלִּין אֲשֶׁר יַגִּיד דְּבָרִים
וְלֹא יֹאמַר לְמַלְאָךְ רוּץ לְמַטָּה
וְהוֹדַע לִי בְּמַעֲשֶׂה כָּל בְּשָׂרִים
וְחָלִילָה, לְמַעַן כִּי מְשׁוֹטֵט
בְּמוֹ עֵינָיו אֱלוֹהַּ כָּל סְתָרִים
וְחָז טֶרֶם יְרוֹצֵץ[10] עִיר[11] וְיַשִּׂיג.
הֲלֹא רָאָה וְחָקַק בַּסְּפָרִים
כְּפִי פָּעְלָם יְתַוֶּה עַל בְּנֵי אִישׁ
עֲוֹן זֵדִים וְיוֹשֶׁר כָּל יְשָׁרִים
וְגַם יַאֲרִיךְ חֲרוֹנוֹ בַּחֲסָדָיו
לְמַעַן כִּי זְמָמָיו לֹא בְצוּרִים[12]
לְאֶלֶף דּוֹר הֲלֹא שֹׁמֵר בְּרִיתוֹ[13]
אֱלֵי אוֹהֲבָיו אֲשֶׁר שׁוֹמְרִים וְנוֹצְרִים

[7] Comp. Ezek, 28, 3: כל סתום לא עממוך.
[8] Is. 50, 10.
[9] The Pataḥ furtive under the ע׳ין is not counted as a vowel, though it is counted as such in the first word of thise verse.
[10] Comp. Nah. 2, 5: כברקים ירוצצו.
[11] Comp. Dan 4, 10: עיר וקדיש.
[12] Comp. Job 42, 2: ולא יבצר ממך מזמה.
[13] Comp. Deut. 7, 9: שומר הברית והחסד לאוהביו...לאלף דור.

לְפִקּוּדָיו לְעוֹלָם לַעֲשׂוֹתָם
וְלֹא עוֹבְרִים גְּזֵרָתוֹ וּמַמְרִים
אֲבָל לָהֶם[14] וְלֹא לִבְנֵי בְנֵיהֶם
כְּמוֹ נָשָׂא פִּדְיָו עַל נְשָׂרִים
וְלוֹ שׁוֹגֶה וְלֹא מַשְׁגֶּה[15] וְיַגֶּה[16]
מְתֵי רָשַׁע כְּבוֹדוֹ עֵת מְמִירִים
וְדָל מֵרִים, וּמַשְׁפִּיל עַד עֲפָרִים
לְכָל גַּאִים אֲשֶׁר שׁוֹנְאִים נִבְרִים[16a]
וְהוּא רַחוּם יְכַפֵּר הָעֲוֹנִים
וְלֹא יַשְׁחִית וְיַדְכֶּה גִּיל בְּשָׂרִים
וּמְדוֹר דּוֹר יְנַבֵּשׁ[17] חִישׁ לְכַרְמוֹ
וְלֹא יֶעָזוֹב בְּתוֹכוֹ קוֹץ וְסִירִים
וְגַם יָכִין לָעָבְדוֹ כָּל לְבָבוֹת
וְיַכְרִית כָּל שִׂפַת דּוֹבְרֵי שְׁקָרִים
וּבֵין רָזָה וְהַבְּרִיאָה יְהִי דָן[18]
וְלֹא יַמְשִׁיל בְּצוֹלַעָה כְּפִירִים
וְיָהֹדּוֹף כָּל אֱנוֹשׁ יְרַהֹדּוֹף יְרַאֵיו
לְהָרַע לוֹ וְרוֹדְפֵי רַךְ[19] בְּצִירִים
וְהָאֵל הוּא מְבַקֵּשׁ לוֹ לְנִרְדָּף[20]
כְּמוֹ בָחַר גְּדָיִים לֹא נְמֵרִים
וְלֹא צִוָּה אֲרָיוֹת לוֹ לְהַקְרִיב

[14] Luzzato justly remarks on the margin that there must be an error in the text.

[15] This likewise seems corrupt. Job 12, 16 reads ולו שוגה ומשגה. Read: לו שוגה ולו משגה.

[16] Comp. Lam. 3, 33: ויגה בני איש.

[16a] Comp. Ps. 18, 27: עם נבר תתברר.

[17] Ms. reads ינקש, emended by Luzzato on the margin.

[18] Comp. Ezek. 34, 20.

[19] Luzzato suggests reading דך.

[20] Comp. Eccl. 3, 15.

אֲבָל בְּחַר כְּבָשִׂים עִם שְׂעִרִים[21]
וְאָת עֲשָׂו הַלֹּא שָׂנֵא[22] בְּרָדְפוֹ
לְתָם יָרֵא אֱלוֹהַּ מִנְּעוּרִים
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל רָדוּפִים מֵעֲמָמִים
בְּכֵן יְקוֹם בְּצָרֵיהֶם כְּמִצְרִים
וְאָנֹכִי רְדָפוּנִי מְשַׂנְאַי
וּמַהֲלָלִי תְּמוֹרַת לָךְ בְּכוֹרִים
וּמִי הֵעִיר לְמַהֲלָלְךָ לְבָבִי
הֲלֹא מַרְבִּית חֲסָדִים הַיְקָרִים
35 אֲשֶׁר מֵרֹאשׁ גְּמַלְתַּנִי בְּחַסְדָּךְ
בְּכֵן אַגִּיד שְׁבָחֵךְ בַּשְּׂעָרִים
וְאִם לוּ יֵשׁ בְּכָל שָׂרִים יְכֹלֶת
לְסַפֵּר אֶת תְּהִלָּתְךָ בְּשִׁירִים
יְדֵיהֶם לוּ פְּרוּסוֹת כַּנְּשָׂרִים
וְעֵינֵיהֶם כְּצַר וָאוֹר[23] מְאִירִים
וְרַגְלֵיהֶם כְּאַיָּלוֹת הַלְּבָנוֹן
תְּרוֹצֶינָה בְּקַלּוּת בַּיְעָרִים
אֲזַי תִּקְצַר לְשׁוֹן כָּלָם לְהַלֵּל
וְלוּ הָפַךְ לְשׁוֹנוֹת עוֹד שִׁעָרִים[24]
40 וְאַף כִּי רָשׁ כְּמוֹתִי בַּאֲנָשִׁים
אֲשֶׁר יָנוּד כְּקָנֶה תּוֹךְ יְאוֹרִים
וְאֵין סוֹמֵךְ נְפִילָתִי לְבַד אֵל

[21] Comp. Lev. R. chap. 27: אמר הקב"ה שור נרדף מפני ארי עז נרדף מפני נמר כבש נרדף מפני זאב לא תקריבו לפני מן הרודפים אלא מן הנרדפים.

[22] Comp. Mal. 1, 3; Am. 1, 11.

[23] Comp. Is. 5, 30.

[24] Luzzato remarks that the meaning of this verse is not clear to him and suspects a corruption of the text. The meaning is however clear, viz. no one can give sufficient thanks to God even if there were many more languages· וימצא בשנה ההיא מאה שערים: שערים is used here in the same sense as in Gen. 26, 12

וְלֹא נֶעְקַד כְּנַלֵּי מֵי נְהָרִים[25]
גְּדֵלוּנִי כְּאַבִּים מְנַעְוְרַי[26]
רָפָאנִי אֲשֶׁר שׁוֹמֵר לְגֵרִים
וְאִם דָּחֲתָה שְׁמֹאלֵךְ לִי בְּחֶטְאַי[27]
תְּקָרְבֵנִי יְמִינֵךְ בַּהֲדָרִים[28]
לְמַלְאוֹת אֶת שְׁאֵלָתִי וְלָתֵת
רְצוֹן לִבִּי וְאֶת קַרְנִי לְהָרִים
לְחַזֵּק אֶת יְחִידָתִי[29] בְּחַסְדֶּךָ[30]
וְאֶהְיֶה מֵאֲשֶׁר קָנוּ עֲטָרִים
וּבָתֵּי שִׁיר לְמִסְפַּר כָּל נְתָחַי
לְךָ אָשִׁיר בְּמַהֲלָלִים בְּאוּרִים[31]
תְּזַכֵּנִי עֲשׂוֹתָם לָךְ וְתִרְצָה
בְּעַד עַבְדְּךָ וְיֶעֶרְבוּ כְּפָרִים
וְאֶמְצָא חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְיַדְעוּ
יְשׁוּרוּן כִּי בְיִשְׂרָאֵל גְּבָרִים
אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ בָּם יְכֹלֶת לַעֲשׂוֹת מַה
אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֻכְלוּ לָהֶם בְּדוֹרִים
אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ לְמִיּוֹם צָץ יְשׁוּרוּן
וְלֹא צָמַח בְּכָלָהֶם מְהִירִים
לְהַרְבּוֹת שִׁיר בְּמַהֲלָלְךָ כְּעַבְדְּךָ
כְּמוֹ צַהֲלַל מְלוּמָד בֵּין חֲבֵרִים
נְקַלּוֹתִי אֲנִי מִזֹּאת אֲבָל אַתְּ

[25] This passage yields no meaning.

[26] A play upon Job 31, 18: כי מנעורי גדלני כאב. But it may be mentioned here that Saadya interprets the verse in Job in the same sense as used here. See Bacher, תפסיר ספר איוב ושרחה תאליף ר' סעדיה גאון, Paris 1899, p. 90.

[27] Comp. Sota 47a: לעולם תהא שמאל דוחה וימין מקרבת. Ms. reads ימינו.

[28] Comp. the expression הדור מצוה, B. Kama 9b, read perhaps בְּהַדּוּרִים, i. e. for the sake of the good deeds in antithesis to בחטאי.

[29] Comp. Ps. 22, 21.

[30] Ms. reads בחסדו.

[31] A Paūl form from באר in the sense of ברורים.

תְּבִינֵנִי לְכָל מִינֵי פְּשָׁרִים[32]
אֲקַו שִׁמְךָ לְעָזְרֵנִי בְּחַסְדֶּךָ
לְהַמְתִּיק לִי כְּהַמְתָּקָתָּ לְמָרִים
לְמַעַן כִּי לְךָ נָאוָה תְּהִלָּה
וְאַתָּ רוֹאֶה וְצוֹפֶה כָּל סְתָרִים
וְאַתָּ מוֹרֶה תְּבוּנָה לַיְצוּרִים
מְלַמֵּד בִּין לְכָל זַכִּים וּבָרִים
וְנָטַעְתָּ בְּתוֹלַעַת לְדַעַת
פְּנִימוֹ[33] עַת אֲשֶׁר יִבְנֶה חֲדָרִים
וּמִי לִמֵּד לְתוֹלָע זֶה מְלָאכָה
אֲשֶׁר יִטְוֶה וְגַם יָאֶרוֹג לְקוּרִים[34]
וְאִם תֹּאמַר בְּבִינָתוֹ פָּעָלָיו
וְאֵיךְ מִכְשׁוֹל יְחִידָתוֹ כְּעוּרִים[35]
וְאֵיךְ תִּפְצָה אֱוִיל עוֹשֶׂה כְּמוֹ כֵן
כְּסִיל אַיכָה יְהִי אוֹרֵג לְחוֹרִים[36]
אֱמֶת אֵין בִּין וְהוֹלֵלוֹת בְּלִבּוֹ
אֲבָל הָאֵל בְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ שְׁפָרִים[37]
לְפָאֵר בָּם בְּטוּחֵיהֶם[38] בְּנֵי אִישׁ

[32] Comp. Eccl. 8, 1.

[33] Luzzato suggests reading פליאה instead of פנימו, but this correction is unnecessary. The meaning is "Thou hast implanted knowledge in the spider," as if it read ונטעת לדעת בתולעת פנימו.

[34] Comp. Is. 59, 5: וקורי עכביש יארגו.

[35] The verse as it reads now is unintelligible. I suggest reading:

וְאִם תֹּאמַר בְּלִי דָעָה פְּעָלָיו וְאֵךְ מִכְשׁוֹל עֲבוֹדָתוֹ גְּמוּרִים

According to this the meaning of this verse and of the next two verses would be as follows: "If you will say that the insect acts without intelligence and his work is only accomplished by accident, how can you say (ואיך תפצה) that a fool would accomplish such things, that an unintelligent being would weave. It is true that it possesses neither human intelligence nor madness (אמת אין בין והוללות בלבו), but God has endowed it with goodly qualities."

[36] Comp. Is. 19,9: וארגים חורי.

[37] Comp. Gen. 49, 21: אמרי שפר.

[38] "By means of their inner parts," a Post-Biblical derivative of טוח.

לְהַרְבּוֹת הוֹן מִתֵּי אֶרֶץ לְהָרִים
וּבָם שָׂרִים וּבָם מָלָךְ וּפָלָךְ
וְעוֹשִׂים גַּם בִּיעָרָתָם[39] חֲדָרִים
וּמִי יֵדַע הֲכִי יֵשׁ בָּם נְקֵבוֹת
וּמִי יֹאמַר הַיֵּשׁ כְּלָם זְכָרִים
וְאִם יוֹצֵא דָבָשׁ זֶה מִמְּעוֹתָם[40]
וְאִם דָּגוֹר דָּגְרוּהוּ[41] בְּקוּרִים
וְזֶה הוּא קַל בִּפְלְאֵי אֵל וְאֵין מִי
אֲשֶׁר יָכוֹל לְדַעְתּוֹ בַּחֲקָרִים
יְהִי בָרוּךְ לְכָל פִּלְאֵי פְלָאוֹת
לְמוּל טִפַּת וְשָׁמַיִם גַּם מְטָרִים
הֲלֹא עָצוּם וְגַם גָּדוֹל בְּעֵינַי
מִתֵּי חֵבֶל נְפִילַת הַשְּׁעִירִים[42]
בְּעֵת נָטְפָם אֲשֶׁר אֵין מִי יְדַבֵּק
אֶלֵי רַעוֹ וְגַם אֵינָם חֲבוּרִים
אֲשֶׁר טִיפִּין בְּהַטִּיפָם בְּחַשְׂרָם[43]
וְזֶה מוּל זֶה לְבַל יִקְרַב לְהַזְּרִים
וּמַה יּוּכַל נְבוֹן לַבָּב לְנוֹבֵב
רְקִיעִים[44] הֵם כְּמוֹ רֶשֶׁת חֲתוּרִים[45]
וְאִם תֹּאמַר חֲזָקִים הֵם כְּאֶבֶן
פְּזוּרָתָם בְּכִוּוּן אַיִךְ בְּרוּרִים
לְבַדּוֹ יָדְעָה נַפְשׁוֹ פְּלִיאָה
וְכָל מֵימָיו בְּמוֹ עָבָיו צְרוּרִים

[39] "In their honeycombs," comp. 1, Sam. 14, 27.
[40] Comp. Is. 48, 19.
[41] Comp. Is. 34, 15.
[42] Ms. reads השערים, emended by Luzzato. Comp. Deut. 32, 2.
[43] Comp. 2, Sam. 22, 12.
[44] Ms. reads רקועים, emended by Luzzato.
[45] Comp. Job 24, 16.

יְהִי בָרוּךְ בְּפִי אֵלִים וְעִירִין[46]
בְּשִׁיר חָדָשׁ לְעוֹלָם לַבְּקָרִים
אֲשֶׁר קַרְחוֹ הֲלֹא מַשְׁלִיךְ כְּפִתִּים
עֲלֵי חַיּוֹת וְגַם עַל הַגְּבָרִים
וְיֵשׁ אִישִׁים לְבוּשִׁים גַּם עֲרוּמִים
וְחֶלְקָם חַד בְּהַגָּעַת קְרָרִים
לְגֵו כְּלָם הֲלֹא רַחֲמָיו פְּרוּשִׁים
וְלֹא מֵתִים בְּכֹחַ קוֹר מְאוֹרִים
כְּשׁוֹעַ עִם שְׁפִיעַת[47] הַלְבוּשִׁים
כְּמוֹ כֵן דַּל בְּחֶלֶק הַכְּפוֹרִים
וְחַיּוֹת מִי אֲשֶׁר יֵחַם לְחָמָם[48]
בְּעֵת הַקּוֹר בְּלָכְתָּם בַּיְעָרִים
וְצִיד עוֹרֵב אֱמוֹר מִי זֶה יְכוֹנֵן
בְּעֵת שְׁוּעוּ יְלָדָיו בַּשְּׁחָרִים
לְךָ הָאֵל לְךָ גּוֹאֵל וְתוֹאֵל
שְׁמוֹעַ לוֹ וְאֶל כָּל הַצְּעִירִים
וְאַתָּה הוּא מְרַוֶּה הַצְּמֵאִים
וְרַחֲמֶיךָ לְכָל צוֹחֶה חֲשׁוּרִים[49]
וּמֵאַחַת נְטִיפַת מֵי גְשָׁמִים
תְּצַבַּע כָּל אֲדָמִים גַּם שְׁחוֹרִים
וְגַם נַעֲשֵׂית בְּכָל מָתוֹק מְתוּקָה
וְתוֹךְ כָּל מַר מְהַפֶּכֶת מְרוֹרִים[49a]

[46] Comp. Dan. 4, 14.

[47] "Abundance" from שׁפע.

[48] Comp. Zeph. 1, 17: ולחמם כגלל, i. e. "who warms their body." Zunz in translating this verse (S. P. 132) misinterpreted it as if it read וַלַּחֲמָם ("waermt im Walde ihm die Speise").

[49] "Thou hast mercy on all who thirst for water." Comp. Is. 5, 13 and 2 Sam. 22, 12.

[49a] The meaning of VV. 82-83 is well rendered by Zunz (ibid): "Sein Regenguss giebt den Pflanzen die Farbe; in das Suesse wie in das Bittere legt er die geschmackverleihende Kraft."

שְׁמְךָ לָעַד יִקַּדֵּשׁ גַּם יְרוֹמַם
בְּפִי עַמְּךָ גְּדוֹלִים גַּם צְעִירִים
אֲשֶׁר תַּפְלִיא פְּלָאִים הֵם עֲצוּמִים
בְּכָל מִכְתָּב לְעוֹלָם אֵין סְפוּרִים
וְכוֹכָבִים אֱמוֹר מִי זֶה סְפָרָם
וְעַל פִּי מִי בְּכָל לַיְלָה סְדוּרִים
וּמִי מָנָה בְּכָל כּוֹכָב שְׁתַּיִם
רָבָבוֹת מִן מְשָׁרְתִים הַיְקָרִים[50]
כְּאוּרִיאֵל וְכִרְפָּאֵל עֲנָאֵל[51]
וְנַבְרִיאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה הֲדוּרִים
וְסַנְדַּלְפוֹן הַדַּרְנִיאֵל כְּהוּאֵל[52]
וְשַׁרְפִיאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה מְהִירִים
וּמַטַּטְרוֹן וַאֲדִירִירוֹן[53] בְּקוֹל רוֹן
לְךָ יָרוֹן בְּרוֹן יַחַד צְפָרִים[54]
עֲשׂוֹת מִצַּוַת אֵלֹהֵינוּ וְנִיבוֹ
וּמִשְׁכְּלוֹ מְלַאִים לֹא חֲסֵרִים
וְגַבּוֹתָם מְלַאוֹת עַיִן[55] רְאִיוֹת
כְּדֵי לִרְאוֹת לְקֶדֶם וַאֲחוֹרִים
וְלֹא יוּכְלוּן בְּכָל זֹאת לַחֲזוֹתְךָ[56]
אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר מֵאִיר קְדוּרִים[57]

[50] The source for this is not known to me.

[51] On all these names comp. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie*, Paris, 1897; Zunz, *S. P.*, Beilage 22.

[52] Zunz ibid. cites this name as יהואל and the line as 88, both of which statements are not according to our text. Schwab (ibid.) likewise has no angel by the name of כהואל; his list mentions the name of בהיאל.

[53] Comp. Zunz, *S. P.*, Beilage 21.

[54] Plural of the Aramaic צפר. Comp. also Job 38, 7: ברן יחד כוכבי בקר.

[55] Ezek. 1, 18.

[56] Comp. Num. R., chap. 14, near the end: ר״ע אומר כי לא יראני האדם וחי, אף חיות הנושאות את הכסא אינן רואות את הכבוד.

[57] Comp. Joel 2, 10: שמש וירח קדרו.

וְכָהֵנָה הֲלֹא עִמָּךְ מְרֻבּוֹת
פְּלָאֶיךָ גְּדוֹלִים גַּם יְקָרִים
95 וּמִי מָדַד בְּשֶׁעֲלוֹ מַי עֲלִיּוֹת
וְתַחְתִּיּוֹת וְגַם כָּל הַנְּהָרִים
וּמִי לִמֵּד לְעוּל קָטָן בְּכִי עַת
יְצִיאָתוֹ וְיָדָיו עַל נְחִירִים[58]
הֲכִי רָאָה בְּגוּף אִמּוֹ בְּנֵי אִישׁ
מְבַכִּים עַל כְּאֵב לָהֶם וְצִירִים
וְאַיִךְ[58a] הָיָה בְּלַחַץ רַב וְיָצָא
וְהָיָה לוֹ כְּדֵי לָגִיל בְּשָׂרִים
הֲלֹא דֶּרֶךְ אֱנוֹשׁ עָזוֹב מְקוֹם צַר
כְּדֵי לָשׁוּשׁ[59] בְּהַרְחִיב הַצְּעָדִים[60]
100 וְזֶה לָמָּה מְשֻׁנָּה מִיְּצוּרִים
וְגוֹעָה עַל רְוִיחָתוֹ כְּתוֹרִים
וְעוֹד עַל כִּי יְפָרֵד הַחֲשֵׁכָה
רְאוֹת זֹהַר וְכוֹכָבִים מְאִירִים
פְּרִישַׁת זֶה בְּלֵב נָבוֹן חֲרוּשָׁה
וְסִימָנֵךְ בְּחִילַּת אוֹר וְנֵרִים
עֲלֵי רֹאשׁוֹ בְּגוּף אִמּוֹ כְּנוּמוֹ
וְדָבָר זֶה מְפוֹרָשׁ בַּפְּתָרִים[61]
וְלִי לֵאמֹר בְּצוֹק רָחֵם מְבַכֶּה
וּמְלוֹתָיו בְּלֵב חָכָם נְטוּרִים[62]

[58] According to the Talmud (Nidah 30a) הולד דומה במעי אמו לפנקס שמקופל ומונח ידיו על שתי צדעיו. Ṣahlal may have had another source or he may have used נחירים on account of the rhyme.

[58a] Read perhaps וְאֵם.

[59] Comp. Deut. 30, 9.

[60] Luzzato suggests reading המצרים.

[61] פתרים, from פתר to interpret, is used here as a term for Talmud and Midrash which interprets the Bible. Verses 101-103 are based on Nidah 30b: ונר דולק לו על ראשו ומביט מסוף העולם ועד סופו שנאמר בהלו נרו עלי ראשי לאורו אלך חשך.

[62] The sense of this verse is obscure.

וְזֶה דַּעְתִּי וְעוֹד נוֹתַר לְדַבֵּר
וּמִי עָמַד בְּסוֹד מַחְכִּים וּמַעְרִים
יְשַׁבַּח עָם מְתֵי בִינָה נְכוֹנָה
אֲשֶׁר יָפֵק לְכָל נִדְכָּה מְזוֹרִים
מְעֻלָּה שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִיבוֹ
אֲשֶׁר אֵין לוֹ עֲרִיכָה גַּם חֲבֵרִים
אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא בְּלָ"מֵד בַּ"ית נְתִיבוֹת
לְעוֹלָמוֹ וְכָל שָׁבוּ צְבוּרִים[63]
בְּעֶשֶׂר בָּם לְגַלְגֵּל רוּם סְפִירָה
תְּחִלָּתָם בְּכֹחַ רָם בְּחוּרִים
שְׁנֵיָה הִיא הֲלֹא כֹחַ נְטוּיָה
בְּעֵד כֹּחַ אֱלוֹהַּ כִּי בְחִירִים
אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ נוֹצְרוּ אַרְבַּע יְסוֹדוֹת
כְּמוֹ חֵבֶל וְכָל גֶּבַע וְהָרִים[63a]
שְׁלִישִׁית הִיא טְבִיעַת הָאֲדָמָה
וְחֹזֶק הוֹד גְּבוּרַת הָאֲוִירִים
וּמַחְמָר וּמְיָוֵן וְקֶרַח
הֲלֹא תֵבֵל מְטֻבָּעָה וְגִירִים[64]
רְבִיעִית הִיא לְהָבִי[65] אוּר וּמָנָה
מְשָׁרְתֵי הָאֱלֹהִים הַנִּבְרִים
אֲשֶׁר עוֹבְרִים אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיִרְאָה
וְנִצָּבִים בְּשֵׁרוּתוֹ גְּדוּרִים

[63] From verse 103 to verse 156 the poet draws upon the ספר יצירה though he differs in many minor points as will be shown in the following notes.

[63a] The ספר יצירה has רוח instead of כח and instead of ארבע יסודות it has ארבע רוחות השמים (Comp. ed. Mantua 1562, fol. 102a, shorter version).

[64] Comp. Is. 27, 9: כאבני גיר מנופצות. Construe the verse as if it read: ומחמר ומיון וקרח וגירים הלא תבל מטבעה.

[65] Ms. reads להב, emended by Luzzato on account of meter. Comp. ספר יצירה ibid.: ארבע אש ממים חקק וחצב בה כסא הכבוד ואופנים ושרפים וחיות הקדש ומלאכי השרת.

וְזֶה הַכֹּל בְּאוֹתוֹת הָעֲצוּמִים
אֲשֶׁר סִגֵּל אֱלוֹהַּ לוֹ וְהֵרִים
וְהֵם יו"ד וָ"ו חֲתוּמִים בָּם שְׁמֵי רוּם
וּבָם נָטָה בְּפָרְשׂוֹ שַׁפְרִירִים[66]
וּמִן הַה"א וּמִן הַיו"ד וְהַוָ"ו
רָקָעַם צוּר וְקָבַע בָּם מְאוֹרִים
וְחָתַם הָאֲדָמָה אֲחָרֵי כֵן
עֲדֵי תַחְתִּית יְסוֹדֵי הַיְצוּרִים[67]
120 בְּיו"ד וָ"ו ה"א חֲתָמָהּ עוֹד וְשָׁקְטָה
כְּמוֹ נֵרוֹת לְהָאִיר כָּל עֲבָרִים
וּבִשְׁתַּיִם וְעֶשְׂרִים אוֹת רְמָזִים[68]
יְקָרִים מִן זְהָבִים הַסְּגוּרִים[69]
וּבָם כָּל בִּין וְכָל דַּעַ אֲסוּפִים
וְכָל עָמוּם וְכָל סָתוּם אֲגוּרִים
וְהַחָקָה וְהַמְּצָוָה מְתוּקָה
אֲשֶׁר שִׁקּוּי נְתוּנִים לַשָּׂרָרִים[70]
וְעַל כָּל נִיב מְקוּדָּמוֹת רְשׁוּמוֹת[71]
וְאָלֶ"ף מֵ"ם וְשִׁי"ן אִמּוֹת כְּאוּרִים[72]
125 עֲקַבֶיהָ[73] יְדוּעִים בִּשְׁלֹשָׁה
מְקוֹמוֹת, הֵן: אֱנוֹשׁ־יָבִין, וְדוֹרִים

[66] Comp. Jer. 43, 10. Ms. reads בפירוש, emended by Luzzato.

[67] Ms. reads היסודים. Verses 117-120 differ considerably from the ס"י. Comp. ibid.: חמש חתם רום בירור ג' פשוטות וקבען בשמו הגדול יה"ו וכו'.

[68] Ms. reads רמוזות, emended by Luzzato.

[69] Comp 1 King. 6, 20: זהב סגור.

[70] Comp. Prov. 3, 8: רפאות תהי לשרך ושקוי לעצמותיך.

[71] The adjectives מקודמות רשומות refer to שתים ועשרים אות of verse 121, i. e. the letters are the basis of all speech. Or perhaps the reference is to א' מ' ש' that follow, meaning that they are the most important of all the letters (על כל נוב מקודמות).

[72] Read perhaps אמורים, i. e. the letters א' מ' ש' are called אמות.

[73] Luzzato notes that this reading must be corrupt. I suggest reading עֲקַבֵיהֶם (for עקבותיהם on account of the meter) referring to the א' מ' ש'.

וְהָאָרֶץ וְהַגַּלְגַּל לְעוֹלָם[74]
מְקוֹר עֵקֶר, וְאֵלֶּה בָּם סְגוּרִים
וְקוֹר וָחֹם וְרָטוֹב עִם יְבֹשֶׁת[75]
וְחֹסֶן אִישׁ וְכֹחוֹ בָּם עֲצוּרִים[76]
וְהִנֵּה סוֹד שְׁלָשְׁתָּם אֶזְכְּרֵמוֹ[77]
וְתַהֲלוּכָם וְאֵיפֹה הֵם גְּזוּרִים[78]
בְּצֵאת קוֹל אִישׁ כְּמוֹ פַּתַּח בְּאָלֶ"ף
נְתִיב אֲוִיר לְבֵין מַיִם וְטֵרִים[79]
130 וְהַמֵּ"ם הוּא בְּשׁוּלֵי הַשְּׂפָתוֹת
לְלָשׁוֹן אֵין הֲבָרָה בּוֹ כְּעִירִים[80]
וְלִפְנִים שִׁי"ן וְסוֹף לָשׁוֹן הֲלֹא שִׁי"ן
כְּקוֹל הָאֵשׁ בְּתוֹךְ סִירִים בְּעוּרִים[81]
וּמִלַּת צוּר מְחֻכָּמָה תְּמִימָה[82]

[74] The meaning of verses 125-127 becomes clear when we compare them with the text of the ס"י (ibid. fol. 102b): שלש אמות אמ"ש בעולם רוח מים ואש... שלש אמות אמ"ש בשנה חום וקור ורויה... שלש אמות אמ"ש בנפש ראש נברא מאש וכו'. Our poet says likewise that traces (עקבי) of the letters אמ"ש are seen in three phenomena (מקומות), they are (הן): אנוש יבין which corresponds to שלש אמות בנפש of the ס"י; דורים which corresponds to שלש אמות בשנה of the ס"י and והארץ והגלגל which is expressed in ס"י by the phrase שלש אמות בעולם. The order is not the same.

[75] The ס"י has no יבשת.

[76] The ס"י has ראש ובטן וגויה.

[77] Ms. reads אזכרם, emended by Luzzato.

[78] Verses 128-131 are based on the passage שלש אמ"ש מי"ם דוממת שי"ן שורקת אל"ף חוק מכריע בינתים. This passage does not occur in the short-Mantua version, but is found in chapter 6 of the longer version (ibid. 88b) and in chapter 3 of Donnolo's version (חכמוני, Firenze 1881, p. 46).

[79] Read וְנוּרִים.

[80] I suggest reading מעירים, i. e. the מ"ם does not move the tongue and that is why it is called דוממת.

[81] This is an explanation of the term שורקת. Comp. also ס"י (ibid. 102b): וסצר"ש בין השינים ובלשון שכובה ושטוחה.

[82] In verses 132-134 the poet gives another explanation of the letters אמ"ש, not found in the Sepher Yezirah, viz. that א' and מ' represent contrasts, like fire and water, and the ש' stands for that which harmonizes them. I regard,

לְאָלָ"ף אֵשׁ וּבֵין מַיִם צְבוּרִים[83]
וְעוֹד מִלִּין עֲלֵי אֱנוֹשׁ[84] לְדַבֵּר
לְאָלָ"ף אֵשׁ לְמֵ"ם מַיִם סְפוּרִים[85]
וְהַשִּׁי"ן הוּא שָׁלוֹם הוֹדוֹ בְּתוֹתוֹ
לְבֵינוֹת אֵשׁ וּבֵין מַיִם וְנוּרִים
135 וּמִי יָבִין בְּסוֹד רָזֵי תְעוּדָה
אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה בְּנַ"ד בַּפְּרַ"ת דְּבוּרִים[86]
לְנֹכַח בֵּי"ת לְעֵין יָמִין וְעֹשֶׁר
וְיוֹם רִאשׁוֹן וְהָרֹאשׁ לַגְּוִרִים[87]

however, verses 132 and 133 as repeating each other and I venture to suggest that verse 132 should altogether be omitted as being merely the author's first draft of verse 133 and that verse 133 should read as follows: ועוד מלין מחכמים לדבר לאל"ף אש למ"ם מים ספורים.

[83] Ms. reads לבודים.

[84] This is against the meter and therefore supports my correction.

[85] Ms. reads לפידים.

[86] From this to verse 142 the poet reproduces part of the Sepher Yeṣirah which deals with the seven letters בג"ד כפר"ת. But there are considerable differences between the text of the S. Y. and that of the poem. The S. Y. associates with each of the seven letters one of the seven planets, one day of the week, one of the seven apertures in the human body and one of the seven contrasts: life and death, peace and war, wisdom and folly, wealth and poverty, fruitfulness and barrenness, mastery and servitude. The text of the poem, on the other hand, while following the S. Y. in principle, differs from it by omitting the planets, by giving a different series of contrasts and having a different order for the items which they have in common. For the sake of greater clearness the text of the S.Y. is given here, following the version of Donnolo (חכמוני, p. 56-57).

המליך את הבי"ת... וצר בו שבתי בעולם, ושבת בשנה, ופה בנפש וחיים ותמורתו מות.
המליך את הגימ"ל... וצר בו צדק בעולם, ואחד בשבת בשנה, ועין ימין בנפש, ושלום ותמורתו מלחמה.
המליך את הדלי"ת... וצר בו מאדים בעולם, ושני בשבת בשנה, ועין שמאל בנפש, והכמה ותמורתו אולת.
המליך את הכ"ף... וצר בו חמה בעולם, ושלישי בשבת בשנה, ואף ימין בנפש, ועושר ותמורתו עוני
המליך את הפ"א... וצר בו נוגה בעולם, ורביעי בשבת בשנה, ואף שמאל בנפש, וזרע ותמורתו שממון
המליך את הרי"ש... וצר בו כוכב בעולם, וחמישי בשבת בשנה, ואזן ימין בנפש, וממשלה ותמורתה עבדות
המליך את התי"ו...וצר בו לבנה בעולם, וחמישי בשבת בשנה, ואזן ימין בנפש, וחן ותמורתו כיעור.

[87] There can be no doubt that ראש and גזורים are to be considered as the

וְיוֹם שֵׁנִי וְעֵין הַשְּׂמָאלִית
לְמוּל גִּימֶ"ל וְסַמְיוֹן לְנָקוּרִים[88]
וְהַדָּלֶ"ת לְמוּל יוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי
נְחִיר יָמִין וְרֵיחָהּ מוּל תְּתָרִים[89]
וְגַם הַכָּ"ף וְנִכְחוֹ יוֹם רְבִיעִי
נְחִיר הַשְּׂמְאל[90] וְאִלּוּם[91] מוּל אֲמָרִים
140 וְעוֹד הַפֵּ"ה וּמוּלוֹ יוֹם חֲמִישִׁי
וּבְטוּל נִיב וְגַם דִּבְרֵי פְּתָרִים[92]
וְכֵן הָרֵי"שׁ וְיוֹם שִׁשִּׁי לְמוּלוֹ
יְמִין אֹזֶן וְחַרְשׁוּת מוּל נְחִירִים[92a]
וְגַם הַתָּי"ו וְיוֹם שַׁבָּת לְנֶגְדּוֹ
וְאֹזֶן הַשְּׂמָאלִית מוּל דְּרוֹרִים[93]

contrasts associated with the letter ב, corresponding to חיים and מות of the S. Y. In view of this, גורים may be taken as a synonym of מחים. (Comp. Is. 53,8: נגור מארץ חיים) and ראש as a synonym of חיים, because it is the most important fact.

[88] The contrast associated with the letter גימ"ל is vision and blindness. סמיון from סמי to blind and נקורים a metaphoric expression for the eyes with reference to Num. 16, 14, העיני האנשים ההם תנקר.

[89] The contrasts for דל"ת is the sense of smell and the lack of it. For תתרים, comp. Baba Bath. 146a, מעשה באדם אחד שאמרו לו אשתו התרנית היא.

[90] Meter requires that the Sheva under the ש"ן be regarded as a plain Sheva.

[91] The contrast here is between speech and muteness.

[92] The contrast here is between the study of the law (דברי פתרים comp. note 61 above) and the neglect of it (בטול ניב).

[92a] The contrast here is between the sense of hearing and deafness. The rhyme compels the poet to describe the ear opening by נחירים though ordinarily it is applied to the nose.

[93] The contrast here is between servitude and freedom, corresponding to the ממשלה and עבדות of the S. Y. אזן השמאלית serves here a double purpose, as one of the corresponding apertures of the body and as an expression of servitude, with reference to Ex. 21, 6, ורצע אדניו את אזנו במרצע ועבדו לעולם. This interpretation might be objected to on the ground that according to the law it is the right ear which is bored (Comp. Kid. 15a). I venture therefore to suggest the following emendation in verses 141 and 142.:

Verse 141b should read: ימין אזן ועבדות מול דרורים.

Verse 142b should read: שמאל אזן וחרשות מול נחירים.

מִי יוּכַל לְסַפֵּר נִפְלְאוֹת אֵל
בהו"ז חט"י לנ"ס עצ"ק סְגוּרִים[93a]
לְמוּל הַהֵ"א לְמוּל נִיסָן וְטָלֶה
מְרֻרַת דָּם לְכָל בַּעֲלֵי בְשָׂרִים
לְנֹכַח וָ"ו הֲלֹא אַיָּיר וְגַם שׁוֹר
וְכֹחַ הַמְּרָרָה בַּסְּתָרִים[94]
וְזַי"ן הֵיא תְּווּיָה[95] מוּל תְּאוֹמִים
וּמָרָה הֶאָדוּמָה בַּכְּתָרִים[96]
לְמוּל הַחֵי"ת הֲלֹא סַרְטָן וְאִתּוֹ
כְּאֵב כָּבֵד וְצָמָא בַּצְּפוֹרִים[97]
לְנֹכַח טֵי"ת הֲלֹא אַרְיֵה וְגַם אָב
וְכוּלְיָא הַיְמָנִית וַעֲקָרִים[98]
לְמוּל הַיּו"ד בְּתוּלָה יֵשׁ וְאָלוּל

[93a] From here to verse 156 the poem deals with the remaining twelve letters of the Alphabet as treated in the S. Y. Each letter is associated with one of the twelve constellations, one of the twelve months and some organ of the human body. As far as the constellations and the months the text of the poem agrees with that of the S. Y. but they differ in the enumeration of the organs of the body, as can be seen from the text of the S. Y. given here according to the version of Donnolo (חכמוני, p. 74-76):

המליך את ה"א... וצר מול טלה בעולם, וחודש ניסן בשנה, וכבד מנהיג בנפש.
המליך את וא"ו... וצר בו מול שור בעולם, וחודש אייר בשנה, ומרה מנהיג בנפש
המליך את זי"ן... וצר בו מזל תאומים בעולם, וחודש סיון בשנה, וטחול מנהיג בנפש
המליך את חי"ת... וצר בו מזל סרטן בעולם, וחודש תמוז בשנה, והמסס מנהיג בנפש
המליך את טי"ת... וצר בו מזל אריה בעולם, וחודש אב בשנה, וכוליא הימנית מנהיג בנפש
המליך את יו"ד... וצר בו מזל בתולה בעולם, וחודש אלול בשנה, וכוליא השמאלית מנהיג בנפש
המליך את למ"ד... וצר בו מזל מאזנים בעולם, וחודש תשרי בשנה, וקרקבן מנהיג בנפש
המליך את נו"ן... וצר בו מזל עקרב בעולם, וחודש מרחשון בשנה, וקיבה מנהיג בנפש
המליך את סמ"ך... וצר בו מזל קשת בעולם, וחודש כסליו בשנה, ויד ימין מנהיג בנפש
המליך את עי"ן... וצר בו מזל גדי בעולם, וחודש טבת בשנה, ויד שמאל בנפש
המליך את צד"י... וצר בו מזל דלי בעולם, וחודש שבט בשנה, ורגל ימין בנפש
המליך את קו"ף... וצר בו מזל דגים בעולם, וחודש אדר בשנה, ורגל שמאל בנפש

[94] Inner part of the body, comp. the expression בית הסתרים (Mikw. 9, 2).
[95] Comp. Ezek. 9, 4: והתוית תו.
[96] "The enclosed parts of the body," comp. Ps. 22, 13, אבירי בשן כתרוני.
[97] "Stomach," comp. Tos. Mak. 5, 15, כדי שלא תניע לצפור נפשו.
[98] This word gives no meaning here.

וְכוּלְיָא הַשְּׂמָאלִית בַּמְּדוֹרִים[99]
וְלָ"מֵד בַּשְּׁבִיעִי הִיא וְצָדָק
לְמֵאוֹנַיִם שְׁחוֹרָה לַבְּעִירִים[100]
וְהַנּוּ"ן הִיא לְמַרְחָשָׁוָן וְעַקְרָב
וְהָרִיאָה לְהַרְוָחָה פְּגוּרִים[101]
וְהַסָּמֶ"ךְ לְמוּל כִּסְלָו וְקֶשֶׁת
וְיַד אֹזֶן[102] יְמָנִית בַּגְּבָרִים
לְמוּל עַי"ן אֶמֶת טַבַּת גְּדִי לוֹ
וְיַד אִישׁ הַשְּׂמָאלִית בַּשְּׂגוּרִים[103]
וְהַצָּדֵ"י שָׂטָה בָּאֶמֶת דְּלִי לוֹ
לְעֻמַּת לֵב אֲשֶׁר הוֹלָה[104] חֲקָרִים
לְמוּל הַקּוֹ"ף אֶמֶת אֲדָר וְדָגִים
בְּרָאוֹ אֵל לְהַחְכִּים גַּם לְהַעֲרִים
וְעוֹד נֶגְדָּם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁבָטִים
שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה מְפֻתָּחִים בְּטוּרִים
תְּהִי בָרוּךְ כְּמוֹ תוּכַל לְבָרְכֶךָּ
בְּפִי קָדְשֶׁךָ בְּמַהֲלָלְךָ יְתֵירִים[104a]
הֲאִם[105] תִּרְצָה בְּאַלְפֵי שַׁי וְכָרִים
בְּרִבְבוֹת נַחֲלֵי שֶׁמֶן וּמוֹרִים[106]
וְאֵין חָפְצְךָ לְבַד רוּחַ שְׁבוּרָה[107]
שְׁבַרְתִּיהָ אֲנִי אֶלֶף שְׁבָרִים

[99] "Inner part of the body," comp. Dan. 4, 22.

[100-101] The words בעירים and פגורים I do not know how to explain.

[102] Read perhaps ויד איש הימנית comp. next verse.

[103] Though the term שגר is used only to describe young animals (comp. Deut. 7, 13, שגר אלפיך) the poet may have been obliged by the rhyme to apply it to men,

[104] Comp. Ex. 2, 19, וגם דלה דלה לנו.

[104a] From here to the end of the poem the poet deals with the history of the Jews.

[105] Ms. reads התרצה which is against the meter.

[106] Comp. Ps. 45, 9.

[107] Comp. Ps. 51, 19, והן חפצך

160 בְּמוֹרָאֵךְ אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים
אֲשֶׁר תָּקִים לְדַלִּים מַעֲפָרִים[108]
וְהַמַּעֲשִׁיר לְתָם עָבַר בְּמַקְלוֹ
וְהִגְבִּיהוֹ עֲדֵי שָׁת לוֹ עֲדָרִים
וְהָעוֹנָה בְּמוֹ בוֹר רֵיק לְיוֹסֵף
בְּהַמָּכְרוֹ לְמִדְיָנִים וְסוֹחֲרִים
לְיוֹנָה תּוֹךְ מְעֵי דָגָה פְּסוּגָה[109]
כִּפְעִית[110] בְּתוֹךְ גַּלִּים גְּעוּרִים
וְשָׁמַע נַאֲקַת עַמּוֹ בְּיַם סוּף
וְנִעֵר כָּל מְתֵי נוֹף כִּצְרוֹרִים
165 וְהַמְטִיר מָן כְּאָב רַחֲמָן וְנֶאֱמָן
לְרַוּוֹתָם בְּדֶרֶךְ דּוֹמֶה כְּפוֹרִים[111]
וְהָפַכְתָּ בְּכִי עֲמָךְ לְשָׁשׂוֹן
וּמִסְפֵּד מַר אָזַי נָהַפְתָּ לְשִׁירִים
לְטוֹב אָמְרוּ מְקוֹם אָמְרָם „הֲלֹא טוֹב"[112]
נְהַלֵּל יָהּ אֲשֶׁר צָרִים נְעוּרִים[113]
וּמַבִּיעִים[114] אָזַי הֵכָּה בְּזַעַם
בְּנַלֵּי יָם לְכַתּוֹת כְּנָסָרִים
וְתוֹךְ יַם־סוּף לְחַיִל אָסוּף בְּשִׁשּׁוּף

[108] Comp. Ps. 113, 7.

[109] Undoubtedly this refers to the Midrash באותה שעה זימן לו הקב"ה דגה מעוברת (Yalkut, Jonah, Sec. 550) but פסוגה gives no proper meaning. I therefore suggest reading פרוגה. Comp. Num. R., Sec. 7, בבקר נכנס לראות ומצא אותה שהפריגה. Zunz (*S. P.*, 425) brings this passage and regards פסוגה as Aramaic, but in Aramaic it has the meaning of breaking into pieces which does not fit into this context.

[110] So in Ms.

[111] Comp. Ex. 16, 14.

[112] Instead of saying הלא טוב לנו שוב מצרימה (Ex. 14, 3) they now said to Moses (לטוב אמרו) let us praise God (נהלל יה). Moses is called טוב in Midrashic literature (comp. Sotah 12a: מאיר אומר טוב שמו ר' תניא הוא אותו כי טוב ותרא).

[113] Because the enemies are shaken (Comp. Neh. 5, 13: וככה יהיה נעור ורק).

[114] Read ומבועים, i. e. the waters of the Red Sea. Comp. Is. 49, 10.

בְּרֹב כְּסוּף כְּקַשׁ זָרְבוּ נְעָרִים[114a]
וְהָרוֹדְפִים בְּיַד נִרְדָּף הֲדוּפִים
וְהַנּוֹגְשִׁים בְּיַד חוֹסְים עֲכוּרִים[115]
וְהָאָצִים וְהַלּוֹחֲצִים פְּרוּעִים
וְנוֹעָצִים[116] כְּלֹא כָל צִים עֲכוּרִים[117]
וְהָאוֹמְרִים קְחוּ תֶבֶן[118] כְּאֶבֶן
בְּחִישׁ יָרְדוּ לְיַם סוּף כַּאֲבָרִים[119]
וְעָם צָוַח הַמַּבְּלִי אֵין קְבָרִים[120]
הֻשְׁבַּם אֵל לְמִצְרַיִם אֵין קְבָרִים[121]
וְהַתַּנִּין[122] אֲשֶׁר דָּלַח וְרָמַס
לְבָבוֹ מָס כְּמוֹ דוֹנֵג לְאוּרִים
וְאָז נָעוּ אֱלִילֵי נוֹף וּבשׁוּ
וְחָפוּ רֹאשׁ וְרוּ רֹאשׁ[123] מְרוֹרִים
וְכַמִּשְׁפָּט אֲשֶׁר דָּנוּ יְרוֹת עוּל[124]
בְּיָם יָרֶם לְעוּל חַיּוֹת[124a] מְסוּרִים
וְקוֹל מִצְרִי בְּקוֹל יָגוֹן יְעֹעֵר
וְכָל עוֹבֵר בְּמוֹ לֵב טוֹב מְפָאֲרִים

[114a] נערים = the Jews. Comp. Hos 11, 1 (כי נער ישראל). The meaning of this verse is not clear.

[115] Read מכורים Comp. Jud. 2, 14.

[116] Comp. Prov. 13, 14: ואת נועצים חכמה. The term applies to the Egyptians, because they took counsel against the Jews (Comp. Ex. 1, 10).

[117] Read בלא כל צים עכורים, i. e. without ships they were destroyed. Comp. Is. 33, 21 and Gen. 34, 30.

[118] The Egyptians, with reference to Ex 5, 11: קחו לכם תבן.

[119] Ms. reads כאפרים, emended by Luzzato as in the text, אֲבָר being a synonym of עופרת (Ex. 15, 10). But it is also possible that the poet allowed himself the use of עפרים for עופרת.

[120] Ex. 14, 11.

[121] The source for this statement is

[122] Egypt, comp. Ezek. 29, 3.

[123] Comp. Deut. 29, 17.

[124] Comp. Ex. 1, 22.

[124a] Meaning of the phrase עיל חיות is not clear.

לְצוּר גּוֹתָם אֲשֶׁר נִחַם וְרִחַם
וְעוֹד נָחֶם בְּעַמּוּד אֵשׁ טְיוּרִים[125]
וְהָרְבּוּ שִׁיר לְצוּר מוֹרִישׁ וּמַעֲשִׁיר
אֲשֶׁר הֵישִׁיר לְפַעְמָם עַל מְצָרִים
וְשֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת לְשֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת כְּרָדְפוּ
וְנָהֲדְפוּ וְצָפוּ בֵּין שְׁבָרִים[126]
וְעֵקֶב זֹאת תַּרי"ג מִצְוֹת כְּנֶגְדָּתִי"ז[127]
אֲזַי הִנְחִיל אֲדוֹן כָּל הָאֲדוּרִים[128]
וְשָׁם לָאוִין לְמוּל גִּידִין בְּדָתוֹ[129]
יְמֵי שָׁנָה הֲכִי ישנה אחורים[130]
וְהַחוֹנִים לְמוּל מח"ר דְּבָקִים[131]
הֲכִי דָּבְקוּ בְּקִיר טוֹב לַמְּגוּרִים[132]
והעשירים[133] בְּהוֹן עָתַק ברתק
להאתק בתק ותק כזרים[134]
אֲזַי כּוֹנֵן לְהִתְבּוֹנֵן לְרַנֵּן
דְּבַר חוֹנֵן לְשַׁנֵּן בַּשְּׁאָרִים[135]

[125] "Walled around with a pillar of fire." טיורים is a denominative passive participle form טיר, a palace (comp. Gen. 25, 16).

[126] שברים is used here in the sense of משברים (comp. Ps. 93, 4).

[127] Comp. Rashi on Gen. 32, 5: גרתי בגימטריא תרי"ג.

[128] Comp. Ex. 15, 11: נאדר בקדש.

[129] The number of negative commandments corresponds to the number of sinews in the body, viz. 365.

[130] Etymologically the verse is difficult to explain. The meaning of it, however, is that the number of days in the solar year is also 365 (ישנ"ה).

[131] דבקים is used here in the sense of איברים with reference to 1 King. 22, 34: בין הדבקים ובין השריון and the meaning of the verse is that the positive commandments correspond in number to the limbs of the body (רמ"ח איברים).

[132] Meaning of this verse is obscure. קיר wax is found in תרגום שני, Esther 3, 8.

[133] So in Ms. Read: והעשירם.

[134] This verse baffles all efforts at interpretation.

[135] Read perhaps בשערים.

וְנִצַּל[136] נוֹף כְּדוֹר צָנוּף[137] בְּמַאֲנוּף
לָרֹב מַחְנוּף[138] כְּטִיט צָנוּף בְּכוּרִים[139]
וְחַי מִשְׁעָן[140] אֲזַי הרויה[141] בְּלָעָן
בְּנֵי צַעַן בְּרֹב מִצְעָן[142] נְזוּרִים
וְשָׁת שעפו[143] לְצַר הִקְשָׁה לְעָרְפּוֹ
בְּרֹב אָפּוֹ וְגַם אַכְפּוֹ לְהַחֲרִים
לְמוֹ הָפְרַע[144] סְגוֹר לִבּוֹ כְּנִקְרַע
אֲזַי נִפְרַע בְּכִי הֵרַע פְּזוּרִים
190 נְהִי נִשְׁמָע בְּעֵת נִקְמָע[145] וְצָמַע[146]
כְּהִשָּׁמַע אֲזַי נָמַע[147] מְצֵרִים
וְאָז דָּמַע[148] יְלוּד גַּעְתָּם וּמִשְׁמָע[149]
לְזֶה שָׁמַע וְסָר מִשָּׁמַע בְּרוּרִים
וְכָל מִבְחוֹר[150] בְּנֵי קָדָם וְאָחוֹר
בְּמֵי גִיחוֹר בְּמֵי שִׁיחוֹר נְעוּרִים[151]
בְּרֹב פַּחַד לְאֵל אֶחָד בְּכִי חַד[152]
בְּכֵן יַחַד הֲכִי חַד חַד פְּגָרִים

[136] Comp. Ex. 3, 22.
[137] Comp. Is. 22, 18: יצנפך צנפה כדור.
[138] The poet used the forms מאנוף and מחנוף instead of אנף and חונף on account of the rhyme with צנוף.
[139] Comp. Is. 48, 10.
[140] Both terms חי and משען are metaphors for the name of God.
[141] So in Ms. Read perhaps חיים.
[142] A derivative of צען, to remove, comp. Is. 33, 20.
[143] Luzzato suggests reading וזעפו. Construe the verse as if it read: ושת וזעפו להחרים ברב אפו וגם אכפו לצר הקשה לערפו.
[144] Pharaoh, comp. Jer, 44.30.
[145] Fom קמע to knot, tie. See Aruch s.v.
[146] Meaning obscure.
[147] "Swallowed," the same as גמא.
[148] Comp. Jer. 13, 17.
[149] Comp. Gen. 36, 11; 25,14.
[150] Comp. 2 King. 19, 23.
[151] Comp. Ps. 136, 15.
[152] Meaning of this part of the verse not clear.

וְשַׁתָּם בַּעֲיָם רוּחַךְ קְדוֹשִׁי
וּבַחֲמָתָךְ אֱמֶת הָיוּ שְׁכוּרִים
עֲנָקַתְמוֹ זְקִיפַת רֹאשׁ וְנַאְוָה
וְעָזְבוּ עִיר וּמָעָזְנֵי[153] אֲחֵרִים
וּמִכָּבוֹד חֲשָׁכָם רַב וחיכם[154]
לְמִשְׁכּוֹנָם כְּשַׁחַת שָׁת מְדוֹרִים[155]
וְכָל מַלְכֵי וּמַלְאֲכֵי בברכי[156]
פְּנֵי פוֹרְכֵי לְעָם זוֹכֵי מְכוּרִים
וְהִפִּילוּ יְלַל הָרוֹת בְּצָרוֹת
בְּקוֹל מָרוֹם בְּשָׁמְעָם כִּי מְסוּרִים
וְהוֹדוּ אָז בְּקוֹל קִינָה לְפוֹצָה[157]
בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב וְהִתִּיר מַאֲסוּרִים
וְעַם עֵילָם בְּעֵת דִּלַּג בְּפֶלֶג
וְצָר בִּלַּג[158] עֲלֵי לִגְלַג[159] בְּחִירִים
גְּאָלָם אֵל אֲשֶׁר פּוֹדָה וְגוֹאֵל
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמוֹ לָתֶךְ[160] וְכוֹרִים[161]
וְדָר תּוֹכָם סְמָכָם גַּם תְּמָכָם
וְהוֹלִיכָם וְהִדְרִיכָם נְצוּרִים
וּבַמִּדְבָּר מְקוֹם אֵין בָּר וּמַעְבָּר
בְּלֹא מִשְׁבָּר אֲנִי הֵבַר[162] שְׁעוֹרִים
וּבַעֲנָנִים בְּאַרְבָּעִים סְבָבוּם

[153] Comp. Is. 23, 11.
[154] Meaning not clear.
[155] Ms. reads מרורים.
[156] Meaning obscure.
[157] Comp. Ps. 144, 10: הפוצה את דוד.
[158] Comp. Am. 5, 9.
[159] Read לגלוג.
[160] Hos. 3, 2.
[161] 2 Chr. 2, 9.
[162] Comp. Jer. 4, 11.

בְּלֹא שָׂרָב וְלֹא מִזְרָב[163] אֲפוּרִים[164]
וְאֵין שׁוּזָף[165] וְאֵין מָזָף[166] וְנוּזָף
כְּאִלּוּ הָעֲנָנִים בָּם תְּפוּרִים
וְשִׂמְלוֹתָם כְּיוֹם צֵאתָם וְסוּתָם[167]
וְנַעֲלוֹתָם בְּנַבּוֹתָם[168] כְּתוּרִים
וְהַבִיאָם[169] לְאַרְצוֹ הַשְּׁמֵנָה
וְגַם מָנָה הֲלֹא פְּנֵה אֲחֵרִים
וְהַכְנִיעַ שְׁאָר שִׁבְעַת עַמִּים
וּמַלְכֵיהֶם וְהִשְׁבִּית הַכְּמָרִים
וְאָרְכוּ שָׁם עַדֵי הִרְבּוּ לְאָשָׁם
וְעָשׂוּ חֵטְא וְזָבְחוּ לַשְּׂעִירִים[170]
וְנִמְנָעוּ בְּחַטֹּאתָם רְבִיבִים
וּמַלְקוֹשִׁים וְלֹא יָרְדוּ שְׂעִירִים[171]
וְהִגְלִיתָם לְאִי בָבֶל וְשִׁנְעָר
וְשָׁם הָיוּ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ עֲזוּרִים
וְאַחַר שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה רְצִיתָם
וְנָחוּ אָז וְשָׁקְטוּ עַל שָׁמָרִים
וְעָדַף מִן כְּבוֹד אַחֲרוֹן לָרִאשׁוֹן
[בְּאֵשׁ] וּכְרוּב וְעוֹד גִּימֶ"ל דְּבָרִים[172]

[163] "Heat," comp. Job. 6, 17.

[164] Read אפרים, i. e. the heat of the sand of the desert.

[165] Comp. Song. 1, 6.

[166] Hofal of זפף to line with pitch, i. e. their faces were not blackened by the sun.

[167] Comp. Gen. 49, 11.

[168] Comp. Ps. 129, 3.

[169] So in Ms. instead of וְהַבִיאָם, which is against the meter, I suggest reading הֲבִיאָמוֹ.

[170] Comp. Lev. 7, 7.

[171] Comp. Deut. 32, 2.

[172] Comp. Yoma 21b: אלו חמשה דברים שהיו בין מקדש ראשון ומקדש שני. This verse is cited in The Old Tosaphot (ibid.) in a corrupt version as follows: ועודף אחרון כבוד לראשון באש וכרוב ועוד שלשה דברים. Upon this the Tosaphist remarks:

מְלָכִים אָז אֶמֶת עָזְרוּ בְנוֹתוֹ
בְּכָל עֵבֶר חמתים עם צמרים[173]
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל הֲכִי בָנוּ בְּרֹב עֹז
חֲצִי הָעָם בְּשַׁלְחֵיהֶם חֲגוּרִים[174]
וְחָצָיִם הֵם בְּבִנְיָנִים עֲסוּקִים
בְּקִיעֵי שׁוּר הֵיוֹת סוֹגְרִים וְסוֹכְרִים
וְאֵל חוֹנָה סְבִיבוֹתָם לְעָזְרָם
וְנָעַר בָּם לְכָל עָרִים[175] וְזָרִים
וְהַיּוֹצֵר אֲזַי צִוָּה לְבָעֵר
לְשׁוּר עָצַר[176] בְּלִי הָצֵר לְבָרִים
וְכֵן עָשׂוּ וְלֹא נָסוּ וְחָסוּ
בְּשֵׁם קָדְשׁוֹ וְצוּר נִסּוּ בְמָרִים[177]
וּבַתּוֹרָה הֲכִי עָסְקוּ וְחָשְׁקוּ
וּבָהּ דָּבְקוּ וְלֹא פָסְקוּ כְּמוֹרִים[178]
דְּרָשׁוּהָ פְּרָשׁוּהָ לְגֵיהָה[179]
לְבַת תּוֹהָה[180] לָעִבְרִים לֹא נְכָרִים
וְהִנֵּה זֹאת חֲקַרְנוּהָ וְגַם הִיא

תימה דאדרבה עזב ולא עדף ועוד כי יש לו להיות שם חדרים רס"ח כנגד רמ"ח איברים שבאדם.. ואין כי אם רמ"ז. To do away with this difficulty R. Tam emended the text making two verses out of the one, as follows:

ועודף אחרון כבוד לראשון ועמד ארבע מאות ועשרים
ונרצה בו להכבד אבל לא באש וכרוב ועוד שלשה דברים

But according to our text there is no need of any emendation.

[173] This phrase is inexplicable to me.

[174] Comp. Neh. 4, 10, 11.

[175] Comp. 1 Sam. 28, 16: ויהי ערך.

[176] "He who prevented the building of the wall," i. e. Sanballat. Comp. Neh. 4.

[177] Comp. Ex. 15, 25.

[178] Comp. Num. 20, 10.

[179] "They spread it out in the light." For the etymology of גיהה see Ben Jehuda s.v.

[180] This phrase is unintelligible to me. It cannot possibly have any connection with the expression בת תיהא of 'Ab. Zara 66b.

שְׁמוּעָה רַב בְּעֹז תּוֹכֵן מְזָרִים[180a]
וְאֵלָיו כָּל חַיַּל גַּיְאָה[181] וְעִירִין
אֲשֶׁר אֵין אֵלַי כֹּחוֹ בְּשָׁרִים
וּמִמְרוֹמוֹ אֲזַי נָעְתַּר[182] לְעַמּוֹ
וְהִגְוָם[183] יָם בְּצַלְמוֹן לֹא גְשָׁרִים
225 אֲשֶׁר מַהַר עֲשׂוּיִם כָּל חֲפָצָיו
כְּגָזַר יָם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר גְּזָרִים
כְּסַפִּירִים מְעֻלָּפִים בְּאוֹפָן
וְתַפּוּחֵי זָהָבִים בַּנְּהָרִים
כְּמוֹ נָאִים לִרְאֵי אוֹר וניאור[184]
כְּמוֹ כֵן לִי לְסַפֵּר טוֹב לִסְפָרִים[185]
לְשׁוֹנִי לוּ כְיָם גָּדוֹל אֲרֻכָּה
רְחָבָה גַּם כְּחַלְלַי כָּל אֲוִירִים
וְקוֹל נִיבִי אֲשֶׁר אָנִיב לחבי[186]
יְהִי נִשְׁמָע כְּרַעַם עַל הָרָרִים
230 אֲנִי אָהִים בְּקוֹל רָם לָאֱלֹהִים
וְגַם אֲנָהִים וְלֹא אֲרָהִים כחומרים[187]
וְאוֹדָה צוּר בְּקֶרֶב כָּל חֲסִידָיו
וְתַלְמִידָיו אֲשֶׁר קוֹרְאִים וְגוֹמְרִים
בְּמַהֲלָלִי וּבַחֲלִילִי לְאֵלִי
לְפִי שִׂכְלִי אֲשֶׁר הִפְלִיא עֲזָרִים

[180a] Comp. Job 37, 9.

[181] Read perhaps גאים.

[182] Ms. reads נעצר. Emended by Luzzato.

[183] Hifil of גוּם, comp. Ps. 90, 10: כִּי גוּז חִישׁ.

[184] Read perhaps וּמָאוֹר.

[185] According to the meter this last word should consist of יתד ותנועה We therefore cannot read לִסְפוּרִים nor לִסְפָרִים. To read לִסְפָרִים would yield no meaning. The text is undoubtedly corrupt.

[186] Luzzato suggests reading לאבי.

[187] This phrase I cannot explain.

וְהַמּוֹנָה צְבָא שַׂחַק בְּכָל עֵת
וְחַד מֵהֶם אֱמֶת אֵינָם עֲדוּרִים
וְכָל אֵלִים וְאֶרְאֶלִים מְהַלְלִים
בְּמַמְלִיכִי בְהוֹד מְלִים סְפוּרִים
235 עֲלֵי כַמָּה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְתַמָּה[188]
בְּרֹב עָצְמָה בְכָל אָמָה וְהַגָּרִים[189]
וְנִשְׁתָּוָן[190] אֲשֶׁר נִכְתַּב בְּיָוָן
לְחַשְׁמוֹנִים בְּהִלָּחֵם מְגָרִים[190a]
וְנִמְסָרוּ בְנֵי יָוָן בְּיָדָם
וְהַנִּיעָם בְּקִיטוֹרִים חֲטוּרִים[191]
וְשָׁיְזוּ הֱיוֹת רוֹדִים וְשׁוֹטְמִים
וְנָהֲפַךְ לִהְיוֹת כֻּלָּם שְׁטוּרִים[192]
נִצְחוּמוֹ בְנֵי לֵוִי וְשִׁסְפוּם
כְּמוֹ לַאֲגָג[193] וְכֻלָּהֶם פְּטוּרִים
240 וְקָבְעוּ עַל נְצִיחָתָם שְׁמָנָה
יְמֵי הַלֵּל חֲנֻכָּה הֵם טְהוֹרִים
אֲשֶׁר טִהֲרוּ לְהֵיכַל אֵל וּבֵיתוֹ
וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם לְכָל הַבָּא גְּזוּרִים[194]
בְּכָל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר נָלָה יְשׁוּרוּן
שְׁכִינָה שָׁכְנָה לָהֶם בְּדוֹרִים[195]

[188] Poetic name for the Jewish people.

[189] Comp. Ps. 83, 7.

[190] On account of the meter instead of וְנִשְׁתְּוָן (Ezra 4, 7).

[190a] "When they were fighting the conquerors." מגרים from וכסאו לארץ מגרתה Ps. 89, 45.

[191] From the Aramaic חטר to smite. The word בקיטורים is difficult to explain.

[192] From שטר to spread, i. e. they were all conquered.

[193] Comp. 1 Sam. 15, 33.

[194] "Decreed."

[195] Comp. B. Mez. 29a.

בִּמְצָרַיִם, וְעִיר,[196] בָּבֶל, וְעֵילָם
נְתָנָם חֵן בְּאַרְצוֹת כָּל מְגוּרִים
וּמֵהָעֵת אֲשֶׁר פָּסְקוּ נְגִידִים
לְאַף גַּם זֹאת וְרַחֲמֶיךָ סְכוּרִים
כְּמוֹ הָרְאָה בְרִאשׁוֹנָה נָקְמוֹת
כְּמוֹ כֵן יִרְאֶה נָא בָּאַחֲרִים
כְּאִישׁ אִמּוֹ תְנַחֲמֶנּוּ נְגֶחָם
וְאָב יָשׁוּב לְבָנָיו עַל פְּתוּרִים[197]
וְיִנָּשֵׂא עֲלֵי כָל הַר נְוֵה אֵל
וְכַרְכּוֹדִים וְאָקְדָּחִים וְדָרִים[198]
מְשׁוֹשׂ עוֹלָם לְרֹאשׁ עַמּוֹ יְהִי אָז
בְּכָל תַּנְחוּם יְשָׁעֲשְׁעוּ חֲבֵרִים
מפרט אֵל לְצַהֲלַל בֶּן נְתַנְאֵל
כְּלֹל כָּרִים יְהִי עוֹד עִם יְשָׁרִים
לְשֵׁם קָדְשׁוֹ בְּרֹב יוֹקֶר לְיַקֵּר
בְּכָל בֹּקֶר לְבַקֵּר בַּשְּׁחָרִים
בְּכָל חֵילִי יְמוֹת חָלְדִּי וְחָרְדִּי
לְצוּר יַעֲלֹב אֲתַו מַהֲלָל וְשִׁירִים

[196] "Rome," cp. Rashi on Num. 24, 19.

[197] Read ואו ישיב לבניו על פתורים. "He will bring back his children to his table," referring to Berakot 3a: איו להם לבנים שגלו מעל שלחן אביהם.

[198] Comp. Esth. 1, 6.

A SECOND SUPPLEMENT TO "THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND IN PALESTINE UNDER THE FĀṬIMID CALIPHS"

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WHEN ATTEMPTING to reconstruct the history of these Jewries from the beginning of the Fāṭimid reign in Egypt (969) till about the time of Maimonides, I was fully aware of the fact that a great deal of Genizah material was still scattered in various libraries to which I had no access. This fact is expressly pointed out in the introduction to Vol. I (1920, pp. 5-6). As a matter of fact, two years later, when Volume II was published (1922), a supplement containing new fragments not yet dealt with in the previous volume could be added (pp. 341-74). Since then I have come across still further material which is given here as a second supplement. Yet by no means has the final word been said on the subject. The future searcher among the tattered and torn Genizah leaves will no doubt find an abundance of new data throwing additional light on this new period of Jewish History.

1. 'Adayah b. Manasse ibn al-Ḳazzāz.

Menasse was an important Wezir in Damascus in charge of the finance department of Syria and Palestine towards the end of the 10th century and his son, 'Adayah, later on functioned there as an important Kātib (I, 19-22, 136-7). 'Adayah's two sons, Samuel and Ishmael, are referred to in the poem in his honor (II, 13, ll. 40 ff.). In the dispute between Rabbanites and Ḳaraites in Palestine, which resulted in the imprisonment of some graduates of the Palestinian academy and which event should be dated some time after 1029 (I, 136), 'Adayah takes a part in laying down on behalf of the governor of Damascus the conditions which would bring about the release of the prisoners. From the Ḳaraite document, given farther on sub No. 11, we see

that he was still alive in 1037. Therein he is styled השר, dignitary, but his status was less than that of his father, who is mentioned as השר הגדול, the great official. 'Adayah's third son, Solomon, who figures in this document, evidently lived in Fusṭāṭ which bears out our suggestion in Vol. I, p. 22, that some members of this family settled in Egypt.

2. The Egyptian Scroll of 1012 C. E.

The scroll describing the trials of Egyptian Jewry at the beginning of 1012, of which I have found 2 versions (I, 31-2; II, 31-38), is now to be supplemented by a paper leaf in the Cairo Collection (H. 8). The fragment, which is torn and damaged, is provided with vowels and accents just as are several of the other fragments of this historical document. This new fragment makes it evident that the versions were identical at the beginning branching off only towards the end. It also alters somewhat the construction of the historical events recorded,viz. that the largely attended funeral, during which the serious riot against the Jews broke out, was not that of Shemarya b. Elḥanan but that of a Reader by the name of Puṭiel.[1]

In order to make manifest the actual text of this Megillah, as now established, it is advisable to re-edit it again here.[2] The beginning is still missing.

נוה שני עד נחתם חזון ונביא כאשר העתיקו[3] הנביאים הראשונים: יהיו עם אלה
נעתקים ממלכות למלכות מבבל למדי וממדי ליון אל עוצים ואל הגרים: ובכל אלה

[1] Probably read Palṭiel (the mistake פוטיאל for פלטיאל can easily be accounted for in Ms.) because the name Puṭiel is very rare. Moreover in view of the Aggadah (Soṭah 43a, cf. Sanh. 82b), which identifies the Biblical Puṭiel (Ex. 6^{25}) with Jethro explaining the name to refer to Jethro's previous idolatry (שפיטם עגלות לעכו"ם), it is questionable whether such a name was at all current among Jews. In our case we have a Palṭiel b. Ephraim signing a document at Fusṭāṭ in 1002, C. E., which was ratified by the court of Shemarya b. Elḥanan (*J. Q. R.*, XI, 646, note 2). This Palṭiel could very well have been the Reader whose funeral on the last day of 1011 was the immediate cause of the riot dealt with in our Scroll.

[2] The indication of textual variants and of supplied lacunae are omitted here, except those of the new fragment. On the other hand a few notes are added in explanation of the text.

[3] 'As the early prophets handed down by tradition' (different in Prov. 25^{1}). Ibn 'Ezra also uses frequently the word מעתיקים to indicate the Rabbis who

הימים הגיעו לעם זו[4] צרות רבות ויאפפם רעות ותלאות על זנחם מוסר עץ חיים: ובכל דור ודור בסררם ובשובם אל יי אלהי אבותיהם יקים להם מושיעים ויפליא להם פלאים גדולים וינוססה[5] רוב נסים ויתן להם רחמים בעיני כל מלך ומלך: למען ברית אבותם ולמען תורתו אשר היא הגיונם ובלתי הכרית שאריתם:

ויהי[6] בימי המלך הנקרא אדונינו הדן באומר־אל המולך בארץ מצרים והמושל בפנות הארץ במזרח ובמערב בצפון ובים: ותגבה מלכותו ותחזק ותאמץ וירם כסאו מכסא אבותיו ואבות אבותיו: בן שלוש עשרה שנה היה במלכו וינהג את כל הממלכה ברוחב לב ובטוב שכל ולא נצרך למשנה ולא ליועץ: כמה קושרים קשרו עליו וכמה קמים קמו עליו ויפילם אלהים תחת כפות רגליו: למען כי אהב צדק וישנא רשע ויעמד שופטים בארץ ויצום לדון דין צדק ולשפוט משפט אמת: וירחק את אנשי חמס ויסר את מתי און ויתעב את מסלפי דרך וגנויי מפעל: ויאהב את מתי שכל ואת יצוב המשפט ואת דרך הטוב: ויהי מרוב אהבתו לצדק ויצב עדים נאמנים לגרדון ולפלילות ולמשוטטי לילה[7] אשר לא עלה על לב כל מלך ולא קדמו בזה כל שלטון: ויודע לכל כי אין חפצו לא בכסף ולא בזהב ולא בנזל ולא בעשק[8] ולא במרוצה:

ויהי היום ביום שלשה לחודש שבט בשנת ארבעת אלפים ושבע מאות ושבעים ושנתים ליצירת עולם: היא שנת אלף ושלוש מאות ועשרים ושלש להפסק הנבואה והיא שנת תשע מאות וארבעים ושלוש לשממות נוה קודש: ויאסף איש מחזני הקהל ושמו פוטיאל[9] ויקבצו ישראל לגמול לו חסד וישאו את מטתו ויעברו באחד השוקים בדרך אשר יוצא אל בית הקברות: ויקנאו בם אספסופי מצרים ויסקלום באבנים ויקללום וירגישו[10] עליהם ויחוקקו עליהם חקקי און ויכתבו עליהם כתובי עמל: וילשינו עליהם ויקרצו עין וילעיבו וילעיגו וילעיזו ויהותתו ויבקשו להאבידם ויהמיון זה עם זה וישאו

have preserved the tradition. Cf. also Sa'adya in the introduction to his Agron (Harkavy, *Studien u. Mitteilungen*, V, 55, l.10) מיום נחתום חזון ונביא and likewise at the beginning of his Sepher Haggalui (Schechter, *Saadyana*, 5, top).

[4] זו used also for masc. (cf. Ex. 15[13,16]).

[5] Read וינוססם, 'showed them many wonders'.

[6] Here commences the Cairo fragment ויהי בימי אדונ' המלך הנקרא אחכם וכו'. For אחכם we ought to have אלחכים, but the word can also be read in the Ms. אדונינו which is more exact because the Hebrew phrase הדן באומר־אל is a translation of the Caliph's full name 'al-ḥākim biamrillahi'.

[7] 'For cases of capital punishment, ordinary jurisdiction and matters pertaining to the night police force' (משוטטי לילה). See also Kaufmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, LI, 442-3.

[8] So in Cairo Ms.

[9] The sentence ושמו פוטיאל is not in Ms. Cairo but in Ms. Cambridge (see II, p. 36). It is now evident that in II, p. 31, the first 2 lines should be reconstructed as follows, לשו[ממות נוה קוד]ש: ויאסף איש [מחזני] הקהל ויקבצו ישרא[ל לגמול לו חסד וכו'. About Puṭiel see note 1.

[10] 'Thronged'.

ראש: וישלח הפחה נוגשיו ומוכסיו וגם הפליל שלוחיו ורציו[11] ויפרצו בעם בסובם מאחרי המטה ויכתרום וירדיפום וידריכום ויעוללום במסלות: ויבהלו העם וינוסו על נפשם מהם ברחו ומהם נחבאו מהם השחידו ממון מהם הופשטו בגדיהם ומהם הושלכו לבור ומהם רותקו ידיהם וכובלו רגליהם: וילקטו מן העם עשרים ושלשה איש ויאספום אל משמר בשני כלאים ויגדל כאיבם לנים רעיבים גם צמאים[11] ויקחו מקצת בגדיהם על מכס נגישותם:

ויהי בהם מבני סנהדרין איש זקן ושב עני ונכה רוח ירא אלהים והוא שלישי בחבורה ושמו שמואל בן הושענא: וישכימו בבקר ביום השני בארבעה ימים לחדש שבט ויוציאום בבהל[12] גדול בחיל וברתת בשלוש שעות מהיום: וימשיכום ויריצום בשוקים ויסובום ויקיפום המונים המונים אלפים ורבבות ותהום מצרים עליהם ותבקע הארץ לקולם: ויתאספו עוד אחריהם כל עריץ וכל נקלה וכל נבזה ויובילום ממושכים אל מקום ההרג ויערימום את רוב מלבושיהם[11] ויצעידום בזעף ובזעם למען הרגם בבת אחת:

ויהי בהוליכם כעשר אמות והנה קול אחריהם השיבום אל ארמון המלך ויהי מקצת הנוגשים מושכים אל המטבח ומקצתם מושכים אל הארמון: ויצוה המלך וינהגום אל המשמר אשר פנימה בארמון המלך ויענו בכבל רגלם עד ברזל באה נפשם: וכל ישראל אשר במצרים צר להם עד למאוד ויתחבאו בבתים ובמטמונות ולא יכלו לצאת ולבוא ויוצרו צעדיהם ותצר להם: ויאמרו בני המדינה לשלל הונם ולאבד נפשותם ולהשחיתם מעל פני האדמה ויפנו לימין ואין עוזר ויביטו לשמאל ואין סומך: ויתאבלו ויאנחו ויאנקו ויצומו ויבכו[11] המה נשיהם בניהם ובנותיהם עד מעוברותיהם ומניקותיהם: ויגדל פחדם ותעצם חיתתם ולא מצאו עצה ולא מענה להשיב: ותאמצנה נפש[13] ענייהם ואביוניהם ומקצת נשיהם ונעריהם[11] וימסרו נפשותיהם: וישכימו בבקר ביום החמישי ויפילו נפשם ויתאבקו לפני שער המלך ויעלו עפר על ראשיהם ויצעקו ויקראו בחזקה לאלהים וישתחוו ויאמרו הושיעה אדונינו המלך:

ויהי כי נשמעה צעקתם לפני אדוננו וידע המלך מכאובם ואנחת רוחם וירחם על דלותם ויטה אלהינו את לבו ויחס עליהם כי לב המלך ביד י"י כפלגי מים על כל אשר יחפוץ יטנו: ויתודע לו שקור העדים החקקים און והכתבים עמל וכי אמרו כי היה מספרם קרוב למאתים ולא נמצא בהם איש יודע עדות ולא חקר שהדות כי אם ארבעה אנשים מספיקים[14] בשהדותם ונוגעים בשהדותם:[15] ויתגלו לו שקריהם ופחזותם ונכליהם ורכליהם והמלך יחי לעד מלך צדק מתעב כל מתי רשע ובחסד סעד כסאו: ויהי כצעק העם ונשיהם וענייהם ויחמל אדוננו המלך עליהם ויצוה

[11] So correctly in Ms. Cairo.

[12] Masc. of בהלה.

[13] We should read נפשות since the verb is in plural.

[14] i. e. 'Being in doubt' (from ספק).

[15] Here Ms. Cairo ends.

להתיר הכלואים ולהסיר הכבלים מרגליהם והסוגרים מצואריהם ולהוציאם מכלאם:
ויצוה המלך להשיבה את מלבושיהם מחוט ועד שרוך נעל ויעשו כאשר צוה:
ויצאו ויברכו את המלך ויסובבו שערי ארמונו וירבו לו ברכות להאריך חייו ולהנותו מלכותו ולאמץ חייליו ולעזור גדודיו ולפתח לפניו מזרחי העולם ומערביו ולהכחיד שונאיו ולהשמיד אויביו: ויועדו עם אחיהם הצועקים והבוכים ויאתיו

(Version 1)

[16]כלם אל המדינה אל שוקי מצרים:
ויצאו לקראתם אחיהם הנחבאים ויתוספו
עליהם כל בורח ונס וכל נכומן[18] ונטמר
וכל נפחד ונחתת: ויתחברו כאחת ויבואו
בשוקים הולכים הלוך ומברכים את
המלך עד אשר באו אל בית הכנסת
הגדולה: ויוציאו שלשה ספרי תורות
וירבו הודיות לאלהים חיים וישנו ברכות
לאדוננו המלך ויקראו הלל הגדולה ותהי
השמחה גדולה: ויקבצו עליהם ראשי
[והעם][19]. . . לצום בם ולהתענות בכל
שנה ושנה מיום שלשה לחדש שבט עד
חמשה בו: קבלו היהודים עליהם לצום
שלשתם ושאר העם יום אחד[19a] והוא
יום הלקחם: ואז ישמיעו בשבת ויעבירו
קול לכנוס את היהודים אשר במצרים
לקבעו תענית לזכר הנסים האלה
להודות לשם אלהינו ולהרבות ברכות
לאדוננו המלך: ובכל העיירות והכפרים
אשר סביבות ארץ מצרים ובנציבים[20]
אשר בדרכים ובנוא אמון[21] בקשו לשלוח
יד ביהודים ויתועדו עליהם לשלול ולבוז

(Version 2)

[17]ויאמרו נפשינו כצפור נמלטה מפח נשבר
הפח ונמלטנו אנחנו: נודה לאלהים עליון
כהודאות תועי מדבר אשר ידריכם
בדרך ישרה וכהודיות יורדי הים אשר
בהתמוגג נפשם ישתוק מעליהם רום גליו
ומשבריו: גם כהודיות אנושי מחל[24] אשר
ימלט משחיתותם אף כהודיות אסירי עני
וברזל אשר יגדע בריחי ברזלם: ועתה
אחינו כל בית ישראל שובו נא אל י"י
אלהי אבותינו ושימו לבבכם על דרכיכם
הכנעו ושברו לב הוסרו וקחו מוסר: זכרו
זאת ושימוה נגד עיניכם וספרוה לבניכם
ובניכם לבניהם ובניהם לדור אחר: שובו
והשיבו הזהרו והזהירו הזכו הזדכו הסירו
רוע מעלל והטיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם
ואל תשכחו כל תגמולי אל אשר גמלנו
ברחמיו וברוב חסדיו: כי כאשר ייסר
איש את בנו י"י אלהינו יסר אותנו
ויושיענו למען שמו ולמען ברית אבות
ולמען ברית ראשונים ולמען הבטחת
ואף גם זאת בלי עשות כלה: יהי שם יי
אלהינו מבורך ומשובח מעתה ועד עולם

[16] Vol. II, 33, l. 2 from bottom.
[17] Vol. II, 36, column 1, towards end.
[18] Read perhaps נטמן.
[19] See Vol. II, 34, note 2.
[19a] A fragment at Dropsie College (see Halper's Catalogue, *J. Q. R., N. S.*, XIV, 255) contains a Piyyuṭ on the 'Amidah in connection with this fast day (י"ח לתענית שלושה בשבט ע[ל] הצרה והישועה).
[20] Evidently meaning here 'at the stations' (khāns).
[21] Alexandria.
[24] Paiṭanic masc. of מחלה.

ולהשמיד ולהרוג: ויהי בהשמע הדבר לאדונינו המלך יחי לעד ויצוה לכתוב ולחתום ולשלוח ספרים אל כל המקומות לבלתי שלוח יד ביהודים: וימנעו כל מבקשי רעתם ולא נגעו בם בכל מקום ומקום ויתקבצו היהודים ויצומו ויקבעו עליהם צומות יום שני וחמשי לצום ולהלל את פני י"י ולברך את אדוננו:

ברוך אלהי אבותינו אשר נתן כזאת בלב המלך להחיות נפשותינו ולקיים להקותינו[22]: על כן אנחנו חייבין להגדיל הודיות לאלהים חיים ולהזכיר פלאיו אשר בחיים שם נפשינו ולמוט לא נתן רגלינו: המהולל במבטא כל ארשת ובנבאן[23] כל שפה אשר על כל ברכה תהלה הוא מרומם: הרוצה לדור דורים ולעולמי עולמים ולנצח נצחים אשר נפלאותיו ומחשבותיו אלינו[25] נגידה ונדברה עצמו מספר: הלליה הללוהו שבחוהו רוממוהו כי גבר עלינו חסדו ואמת י"י לעולם הללויה:

נגמרה המגלה בעזרת נורא עלילה בריך שמיה לעלם:

ברוך י"י לעולם אמן ואמן: ימלך י"י לעולם אמן ואמן ושלום:

סכום פסוקיה ע"ו פסוק:

יריאיו, הקרוב לקראיו, מהולל יועצים, מחפיר קוסמים, מסכל דעת מתחכמים, משיבם אחור. הוא האל עושה פלא אשר בעמים הודיע נסו.

We see thus that both versions are practically identical in their account of the actual events, branching off where the rejoicings subsequent to the deliverance are narrated, the first describing them in detail and mentioning also the resolutions of the saved community to commemorate the happening every year by fasting and solemn assembly, whereas the second version concludes in a general way expressing thanksgiving and gratitude for the Divine mercy.

Whereas the fixed date for the funeral of Shemarya b. Elḥanan on Shevaṭ 3rd 4772 (Dec. 31st, 1011) should now be discarded since it refers to Puṭiel (Palṭiel) the Ḥazzān, there is no doubt that Shemarya died shortly before since during the days of mourning for him Samuel (the 'Third' of the Palestinian school) came to Fusṭāṭ and subsequently was arrested there together with 23 other Jews, as is evident from the fragment in Vol. II, p. 26 (see I, 28-9).

[22] =קהלותינו (I. S. 19[20]).
[23] Better ובניב.
[25] Read perhaps אלו.

With regard to Shemarya's son, Elḥanan, we have now an interesting letter to him from Ṣemaḥ, the first Gaon of the reopened school of Sura.[26] This epistle refers to the time when Elḥanan went to Bagdad to study under Sherira, probably during the last decade of the 10th century. Subsequently Elḥanan returned to Fusṭāṭ but later on made other trips to foreign countries. In 1011, at the time of his father's demise, we find him in Damascus where he was delayed by ill health and insecurity of the roads (Vol. I, 34). He returned to Fusṭāṭ to take over his father's work but the times were unfavorable as both Christians and Jews were then in the throes of the fanatical persecutions decreed by al-Ḥakim. These Elḥanan himself records in his letters and in a poem. Yet he maintained himself under these difficulties as ראש הסדר and as such signed a document of 1016 together with Jacob b. Joseph, Ab-Bet-Din, and others (I, 38, note 1).

3. Jacob b. Joseph Ab-Bet-Din.

This Jacob, the son of an Ab of the Palestinian school, and himself evidently one of the Rabbis of Fusṭāṭ where he resided still in 1018 (see I, 37, note 1, 38, note 1, and 174, note 1) later on became the spiritual head of the important community of Aleppo. We find him there in 1028 and hence the change in the sphere of his activities took place within this decade (1018-1028). A highly interesting letter to him, while already in Aleppo, has been published by Schechter in *Berliner Festschrift* (Hebrew part, 110–12). Another epistle to him, written evidently during his travels from Egypt to Syria, is found in the Cairo Collection (L. 183 paper, damaged) and is given herewith.

(Address, verso)

ליקר כבוד רב[27] יובל לרוב עוצם והוד אל מר[28] יעקב החבר שמ' צור[29]

(There follows on verso scribbling in other handwriting)

[26] See my paper on "The last period of the Sura Gaonate" (*Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, 1925, p. 228 ff.,, and the additional note, *infra*, p.309–10.

[27] =רבנו.

[28] =מרנא.

[29] =שמרהו צורו.

(Recto)

[שלום] אפוד חן אזור חסד מצוי תפארת מיכלל יופי ליקירי ברוב שבח'[30]
כב' נד' קדש' מר' ור'[31] יעקב החבר בסנדרי[32] גדולה יגדל ברוב עוז ושלום ברבי
יוסף בי' די'[33] אלהיו יהי בעזרו בכל עת וזמן. ובא כתבו בכיר[34] ידו והאיר לנו עין
בכל מה שפיארתה ושיבחתה לבני עיר בזאעא הקדושים הישרים
[במ]ה שעשו. . . . בי ינצרו והט. . . וכאשר עשו היא וסתם[35] מעודם קדש'[36]
[ברו]ך הוא ישלי[ם] להם שכרם וירבה הונם עם הצפון ליריאיו. ועל כל דבר
בכל [מה] שעשו ויעשו ויעסו[37] לפי כבודך המיוקר אצלינו עדיין לא געו עד
[א]חד מני אלף וא[מ]ת שהטריחו על עצמם ועשו כפי יכלם שכרם יבא לה[ם]
ברוב יכולת מלפניו וסבור אני מ[ה]ם על וסתם הידועה כי רצונם שתש[אר]
אצלם ותאריך הימים עמהם לפי שיהנו מזיו כבודך ויועצם להם השכ[ר]
ונתישבה דעתי במה שאמר לי ר' יצחק נט' רח'[38] שנזדמן עמך ריע יעמוד
לפניך בצרכיך יהי רצון שמים שילוך במלאכיו לשמרך בלכתך ובשובך ומה
שאתה חושק להסברת פנים שיצו[39] ולחמודינו ולשאר הקהל הודענום וחשקם
לרב'[40] יותר לרוב ובקרוב נראהו ונתיחד וניתן שבח למה[41] שגמלנו בטובו
בראית קלסתר פניו המזהיר והמנהיר. ישע רב ימצא במושבו ובמוצאו
ובני בריתנו וכל סיעתנו והחפצים לכבודינו ברוב יקר מלוים רב' בעוצם שלומות.

The writer was an intimate friend of Jacob and stood with him in correspondence. Jacob in a previous letter informed him of the cordial reception given to him by the community of בזאעא.[42] This correspondent in reply suggests in a friendly way that the reception had a purpose to inducing him to remain there longer and perhaps to settle there. It seems that Jacob was expected by his friend and his community to return soon to Fusṭāṭ but he evidently decided to stay finally in Aleppo where he must have had more scope for his activities. But it may be that our letter

[30] =שבחות.
[31] =כבוד גדולת קדושת מרנא ורבנא.
[32] =בסנהדרין.
[33] =בית דין.
[34] כיר, handwriting (see Vol. II, Glossary s. v.)
[35] וסת, custom, habit (see ibid., s. v.).
[36] Read הקדוש.
[37] Read ויעסקו.
[38] =נטריה רחמנא.
[39] Read perhaps שיצוה לי ולחמודינו וכו'.
[40] Read לרבנו = לרב'.
[41] Better למי, viz. to God.
[42] So far unknown from elsewhere.

refers to a trip which Jacob made some time before he decided to leave Fusṭāṭ for good.

4. *The Gaonic Family of Ben-Meir.*

Our construction of the data pertaining to this family (II, 49-57) has now to be modified, first by reason of the fact that the Gaon Ben-Meir, whose first name was assumed by me to have been Yehuda, is expressly mentioned as *Aaron* b. Meir by Sherira and Hai in a responsum,[43] and secondly that Joshiah Gaon (1015) was the son of an Aaron Ḥaber and not of an Aaron Gaon. The latter fact is evident from a fragment in the Cairo Collection (L. 199, paper, top missing; two lines of recto and also verso contain Arabic script) which is given here. On recto after the Arabic lines we read:

החיים והשלום עם שאר כל
הברכות הכתובות והישועות[44]
על יד כל נביא וחזה
תהיינה
תבאנה תאתנה לראש
אדונינו
5 ואדירנו נזרינו וכתרינו
מחמד
נפשינו ועטרת ראשינו
מחוור לבושינו מתפלל
בעדינו
ראשנו נלחם נילחם
[בעבורינו]
כמלכנו הוא אדונ'
יאשיהו
10 ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב
בן כב'
נ"ק מרו"ר[45] אהרן החבר
בס' גדו' [46]
ת'נ'צ'ב'ה' האלהים יהי
בסעדו
וברב טובו יעזרהו ויפיל
[שונאיו לפניו] וירים
ידו

Reversed we have the lines:

מוסא בן יוסף האדום.... האוהב הבוחר הרץ ההלך מצרים מרבה שלום

These two new data show that the memorial lists, which were the basis of our construction of the genealogy of this Gaonic family, are much confused. We have to await further material in order to unravel the difficulties involved. Well established are the following Geonim of Palestine from this family:

Meir Gaon, father of Ben-Meir.
Aaron b. Meir (921), his Ab being a certain Isaac.
Joshiah b. Aaron Ḥaber (1015).

[43] Published by Mann, *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, 1925, p. 237 ff.

[44] These 2 words should be transferred: והישועות הכתובות על יד.

[45] See note 31.

[46] =בסנהדרין נדולה.

5. *The Gaonic Family of Joseph Hakkohen.*

Besides the Ben-Meir family, which traced its descent from Yehuda the Patriarch and hence from King David, we have in the 10th century the Geonim Joseph Hakkohen and his son Samuel. The latter was the recipient of an epistle from Sherira and Hai, dated 988 C. E., and also from Joseph ibn Abitur, the unfortunate Spanish scholar who owing to his conflict with Ḥanok b. Moses had to leave his native country and wander about in the Orient (I, 66-70; II, 58-61). A second son of Joseph was Abraham Ḥaber. A third son was Ḥananya, the Ab of the Palestinian school under the Geonim Shema'ya and Joshiah (II, 342-3). That Ḥananya Ab was the brother of Samuel Gaon, and not his son (as suggested in I, 66, bottom), is now evident from a document in the Cairo Collection (L. 134, paper, top and bottom missing) which also shows that Ḥananya was in 1007 in Fusṭāṭ where he settled a lawsuit between Ephraim b. Shemarya and Solomon b. פשאט. The document mentions at the beginning:

מושב אב בית דין חנניה בן יוסף גאון אידה אללה פי בית דין יום אלאתנין לסתה עשר כלת מן אלול סנה אלף ותלת מאיה ותמניה עשר לתאריך אלשטאראת כאן אלמתחכמין בין ידיהם אפרים בן שמריה ושלמה בן פשאט האולי.

After mentioning the names of Isaac b. Ṭayyib, Ḥasan b. Wahib and Abū'l Ḥasan b. Joshiah, the document is dated on Sunday last day of Elul, 1318 Sel. at Fusṭāṭ and is signed by Levi Hallevi b. Jacob, Samuel Hakkohen b. [יפת הלוי ב]ר טוביה and [ט]ליון. The names of the signatures are known from other documents cited in II, 97-8. Solomon b. פשאט is also the signatory of a document dated 1016 C. E. (I, 38, note 1).

Ḥananya Ab also visited Aleppo and on that occasion received poetical letters from a poet 'Alvān b. Abraham (cf. II, 73, note 3, end). There is another member of this family Yosē Hakkohen b. Samuel Gaon, who is himself styled Gaon, but so far nothing further is known of him. In the 11th century there came to the front at the Palestinian school another priestly family, viz. Solomon Hakkohen Gaon b. Joseph Ab, and then his sons, Joseph Ab and Elijah Gaon, the latter of whom was succeeded in his turn by Ebyatar Gaon (see II, 62-66). What relationship, if at all, there existed between these two priestly families is still obscure.

6. *Ephraim b. Shemarya.*

This prominent and energetic Ḥaber of the Palestinian community of Fusṭāṭ in the first half of the 11th century figures greatly in the correspondence of the Gaon of Palestine, Solomon b. Yehuda, and in the other documents of this period. To the numerous data, discussed in chapters II and III of Vol. I and in the corresponding appendix B of Vol. II, a few more should be added. Another letter from Solomon b. Yehuda to him is given infra sub No. 8a. A document in the Cairo Collection (A. 45) contains evidence given at Fusṭāṭ in 1336 Sel. (1025 C. E.). The signataries are: Abraham b. Mebasser, מנדר בר שבת, David Hallevi b. Aaron, Jacob Hallevi b....., Isaac b. מומל and Jacob b. Abraham. Some of these names recur also in the other documents cited in II, 97-100. The testatum of our document is signed by [מריה] ש בירבי בסו החבר[46a] אפרים זע and Khalaf b. Abraham.

The same collection (L. 15, paper, damaged) contains a letter to him from Joseph Hakkohen b. Solomon Gaon. Joseph signs simply as Ḥaber and therefore the epistle dates from the early time of his activities in the school before he and his brother Elijah, the later Gaon, began to climb up the ladder of office from 'seventh' and onwards. Joseph died as Ab in 1053 (see II, 62 ff.)

(Address, verso)

. . . . . ורשומה תגיע לכבוד גדולת קדושת מרנ' ורבנ'

אפ[רים החבר]. . . היקר ישמ' קדוש[47] בן כב"ק מר' ור' שמריה רי"ת[48]

(Recto)

נקדים נקדמה מכתבי אושר. אלי אח הכושר. חכם הפשר. מתיר אגודי קשר.
שלומיהו

בשניי תש[ר][49]. הוא כבוד גדולת קדושת מרו"ר אפרים החבר ה. . .משר. יזכה
נין ונכד לשרשר[50]

[46a] = זעירא corresponding to the Hebrew הצעיר.

[47] = ישמרו קדושינו.

[48] = רוח י' תניחנו.

[49] The ת is doubtful. Also the meaning is obscure.

[50] A Paiṭanic formation either of שור, to look, behold, or of שרר, to rule. Thus either 'may he merit to behold his offspring' or 'may he merit that his offspring have dignity' in Israel.

מ. . . תעשר. בן כב' ק' מר' ור' שמריה המלמ[ד ר"ת]. . . . . ומדע מן עסקון[51] שרור
הלוי ונישואיו וציוויו ופטירתו והכל הגיע זולתי כתב ההרשאה כי המורשה לא קיבל עליהו
לעמוד בדין ולהוציא כדרך המורשין כי כתב לאמר השביעוני עד שלא פרעוני שלא להזמינה ולא להתמנות עליהם ואם כן הדבר היה לו פתוק[52] הרשאתו למנות אחר
תחתיו ולהידיין[53] ולהציל ולהוציא ולזכות. עתה אדירנו החבר יהי צור עזריך הנה שומה עוד את
ניחומא בן רב' שמואל בן ניחומא[54] הח' והנ' נ"ע[55] מורשה תחת אברהם[56] להזמין ולטעון ולמחות
עד להציל ולהוציא ולזכות והנה כתב זה יגיע מידיהון. . . . . כתב הרשאה מוחזקת בכיר
ידי[57] ואימות עידות יזדרז החבר בזכות זו למען תחשב לו לצדקה ואשר יציל נתנאל זה
יהא כלול מופקד לאמוני הגן עדי בא מכתב סותית בת אהרן הלוי זאת באשר ייעשה
בו ויקבל אדירי החבר רוב ושלום ויסגר לטוב כי לפי העת נכתב לא לפי כבודיהו
ואם יראה להודיע בחקק רשמיהו[58] המהודר את הנעשה יקדים עשות כן ושכריהו יוכפל
יוסף הכהן החבר בר שלמה ראש הישיבה מנוחתו כבוד[59] התיקון טוב דכיריה.

This letter deals with a lawsuit with regard to the belongings of the late שרור (Surur ?) Hallevi. A power of attorney had to be

[51] For ומודע better ומודיע; עסקון is a Paiṭanic form for עסק, business, affair.

[52] Better כחוק, according to the right of his power of attorney he ought to have appointed somebody else in his stead.

[53] Curious Niphal form of דִּין, דַּיִן.

[54] These names are written on top of the line whereas in the line proper there are crossed out the words נתנאל הלוי בן כ"ב ק' מרו"ר פינח'(=פינחס). Evidently it was first intended that Netaneel be the attorney but in Fusṭāṭ another person, Niḥuma, was appointed. Netaneel is still mentioned in l.10 which ought also to have been corrected.

[55] החכם והנבון נשמתו עדן=.

[56] Evidently the first attorney who refused to serve was called Abraham.

[57] Read perhaps ידי. For אימות, authority, see Vol. II, Glossary s. v.

[58] Paiṭanic phrase for an epistle.

[59] The signature contains letters above and below, as we find in several other fragments, which are not clear to me. Obscure is also the phrase התיקון טוב דכיריה.

given to a certain person in Fusṭāṭ to be entitled to claim from the debtors of the late person what was due to the heir, a woman סותית b. Aaron Hallevi. Ephraim is requested to see that the matter be settled in due time. The epistle is written in Paiṭanic style and is far from elegant. Indeed Joseph himself apologizes that it was written for the occasion and not in accordance with the standing of the recipient who would expect from his correspondent a more correct diction. From the other members of the school Solomon b. Yehuda, the Gaon, stands out as a fine Hebrew stylist as his numerous letters testify (see I, 152).

7. Abraham b. Sahlān.

Abraham was the spiritual head of the Babylonian section of Fusṭāṭ Jewry and frequently signed documents together with his colleague Ephraim b. Shemarya. He was succeeded by his son Sahlān. Though father and son really were under the jurisdiction of the Babylonian Geonim, they both were friends of Solomon b. Yehuda and supporters of his school of Palestine (see I, 96-97). To the letters from Solomon b. Yehuda to Abraham (II, 129 ff.) should be added another one in the Cairo Collection (L. 297, paper) which evidently emanates from the Gaon. His signature is not preserved as the end is missing.

(Address, verso, first in Arabic script and then)

ליקר פאר כב' גד' קד' מר' ורב' אברהם ברבי סה[לאן] נוחו [עד]ן
החבר בסנהדרי גדולה יהי צור צל סתרו ישע רב [60]

(Recto)

אל אח בתורה. וחבר ביראה. באהבה גלויה. לא נפלאה.[61] לא בהבלי העולם
תלואה.[62] ולא בעניניו קנואה. כי אם קבועה כמראה. בעלי קנאה לא
ימירוה. ומטילי שנאה לא יחליפוה. ואם הלב יכאב ויעצר להגד מגיד
לשעה. אכן תשיב הנפש ותזכור האמונה הצורעה.[63] ותשיב ותתחד [ש]
האהבה ותשכח השמועה הנשמעה. כלעומת המידות המהוללות.
אשר בו נכללות. הידועות במקהלות. ועל כן הכל יתאוו לשמוע ולענ[ו]ת

[60] This was the usual concluding phrase of Solomon b. Yehuda (see I, 146).

[61] Hidden (cf. Dt. 30^{11}).

[62] For הלויה to suit the rhyme.

[63] Read הרצועה, in the meaning of perpetual. The idea is taken from the ceremony of perforating the ear of a slave who preferred to remain with his master rather than be manumitted in the Sabbatical year (Ex. 21^{6}).

אחריו אמן וקדוש וברוך בתפלות.[64] בכיוון בנועם[65] להקדיש יושב תהלות. הוא כב' גד' קד' מר' ורב' אברחם החבר הסמוך בסנהדרי גדולה. בחצי גורן עגולה.[66] אשר זכה להכתב בכתב בית ישראל בגדולה. כן יזכה לשתים האחרות להתהללה. בסוד עם לבוא להכללה. באדמת בית ישראל להנטע להשתלה. ולחזות בנועם ולבקר בהיכל אי'[66a] יעקב סלה. הוא ושני חמודיו כג"ק מו"ר סהלאן ראש כלה. ישמרו נורא עלילה. ואחיהו רבי נחום יוצלח בכל פעולה. ויזכה אח לשמחת שניהם עם מלאוי כל שאלה. ברבי סהלאן החסיד נוחו עדן. כל שלום יוכלל. וכל ברכה תובלל.[67] להשתלח ממכלל.[68] וכל שמחה כמוצאי שלל. עם כל תחב[69] וחשק יאתיו יאוספו. . . למו במכלל. והוא בי"י יגיל בקדוש ישראל יתהלל. גע[70] מכתבו עם מכתב ראש כלה ישמרו אל והשישו כעל כל הון והעביר כל אנח[71] וכל יגון והודיע כי ישבו המים ללכת כתמול שלשום על מקומם כי לא נכחד ממנו כבוד ארץ ישראל ואפילו חרבה וכמו כן סמוכיה וקרואיה ולא כל הרוצה ליטול את השם בה יטול כי אם אשר י"י קורא וכמדרש כי בהר ציון ובירושלים תהיה פליטה כאשר אמר י"י[72] בתחלה בהר ציון. כאשר אמר י"י ואחרי כן ובשרידים בכל מקום אשר י"י קורא ללמד כי חביבה ישיבתה ובזמן שהצדיקים מרובין בה סימן יפה לעולם כמדרש ואכרה לי בחמשה עשר כסף וג'[73] וכולה דרשא ולפני זה הזכרתי במכתב מדרש[74] ואלה דברי הספר וג' אל יתר זקני הגולה וג' ומדרשו ביותר הם

[64] i. e. his name is mentioned at the prayers in accordance with the custom at the school to pray for its benefactors. The people would respond with Amen. By קדוש וברוך, evidently the recital of the Ḳaddish is meant when at the phrase בחייכון וביומיכון there would be inserted a reference to the benefactor (ובחיי דפלוני בן פלוני). Cf. the Ḳaddish published by Schechter (*Kaufmann Gedenkbuch*, Hebrew part, 52-4).

[65] 'With devotion (כוונה = כיוון) and tune (נעימה = נועם) to serve God'.

[66] A synonym for the Sanhedrin and then for the academy (see II, Glossary s. v. גורן).

[66a] = אלהי.

[67] Better חובל, but תובלל is used for sake of the rhyme.

[68] Here it means 'from Jerusalem', which is styled יופי מכלל (Ps. 50[2]), but in next line במכלל means 'in entirety'.

[69] Paiṭanic form for חבה, love, wish.

[70] = הגיע (see II, Glossary, s. v.).

[71] Masc. form of אנחה (see ibid. s. v.).

[72] Joel 3[5]. This Midrash I could not locate, but the interpretation of בשרידים as referring to scholars is taken from Sanh. 92[a], Ḥullin 133[a], אין שרידים אלא ת"ח. Perhaps Solomon means by מדרש an Aggadic interpretation of the verse.

[73] Hosea 3[2]. Cf. the Aggadah in Ḥullin 92a, bottom.

[74] Evidently the Gaon refers to a previous letter wherein he cited an Aggadah on Jer. 29[1-2] which, however, I could not locate.

עלי זקני גולה ו[על חבירי על][75] כת קטנה שבארץ יש' סנהדרין גדולה שבחוצה ל[ארץ]. . . . . ההורש והמסגר

Abraham held the diploma of Ḥaber from the Palestinian school but as Rabbi of the Babylonian congregation in Fusṭāṭ, he naturally would also show his allegiance to the Babylonian academies, especially to that of Hai. As a matter of fact this congregation went by the name of this Gaon's academy (see Mann, *J.Q.R.*, N. S., VII, 478; cf. XI, 452) and its Rabbi, who also had the Babylonian title of Resh Kallah, corresponded with Hai. Hence it sometimes resulted that Abraham did not always please the Gaon of Palestine, Solomon b. Yehuda, and their friendship occasionally cooled off only to be resumed again after some cordial letters from Abraham and his son Sahlān, the Resh Kallah. To such a passing estrangement Solomon refers in our present epistle (ll. 3 ff., 16 ff.). The Gaon is glad that his correspondents still bear in mind the importance of the Holy Land and of its center of learning, and he goes on to expatiate on this subject of the prior claim of Palestine as against the Diaspora.

Abraham's second son was Nehemiah (here by a slip of the pen called Naḥum, l.13), who was a Ḥazzān and held the title of ראש הפרק. A responsum to him by Hai Gaon, dated Nisan 1037 C. E., is published by me elsewhere.[76]

8. Solomon b. Yehuda, Gaon of Palestine.

To the numerous letters emanating from Solomon there should be added another one in the Collection at Dropsie College, Philadelphia (see Halper's Catalogue, *J.Q.R.*, N. S., XIV, p. 542, No. 412). It deals at the beginning (as far as preserved) with the same subject as No. 48 in Vol. II, 141-2, viz. with a sum of money which the Gaon used for his own purposes though it had been intended by the donor otherwise (see I, 122-3). The sum amounted to 19 dinars, 12 of which Solomon already made good (l. 4). He then enumerates several other consignments that had been sent, in all 71⅔ dinars (ll. 15-16), the receipt of which have all been acknowledged. Several of the persons mentioned

[75] על seems to be here superfluous, hence 'concerning the scholars (חברים) and the small group (כת קטנה) of Rabbanites in Palestine.'

[76] See *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, 1925, p. 259.

recur in the other fragments. 'Amram b. Levi (l.7) is evidently identical with 'Amram in II, 144, top. 'Obadya b. Yefet, another donor, is likewise the 'Obadya referred to in II, 341-50. Also Ephraim the Ḥaber (l. 10), no doubt b. Shemarya, sent a sum addressed to a certain b. Nisan. The dignitary David (probably b. Isaac Hallevi, see I, 88, 91-2)[76a] also sent a donation but it seems that its recipient, Meborak the Kātib (l. 12), had to spend it to free himself from extortion on the part of the soldiers who hunted after the Kātibs, probably demanding from them certain payments. Finally another donor, Solomon b. Sa'adya (l. 24) was a frequent, generous contributor to the needs of the academy and the poor at Jerusalem. Levi (l.15) figures also in the letter in II, 142.

The Gaon Solomon then refers to a certain person who evidently had a poor opinion of the members of the school. His remarks were reported to him by Tobias the 'Third' of the academy (ll.17 ff). This person's brother had some dispute with the late Gaon (Solomon Hakkohen b. Joseph) and hence this ill-feeling. The brother is twice referred to as חתני (ll.22,29), hence he was the Gaon's son-in-law. But it is doubtful whether Solomon's son-in-law should have thus acted against him. Perhaps חתנו should be read, viz. this person's brother who was at the time his son-in-law. In l. 29 there is mentioned another Katib Mu'aḍl. Owing to the defectiveness of the fragment, of which beginning and end are missing, several details are obscure.

(Ms. Amram, No. 412 in Catalogue Halper, paper) (Recto)

. . . . . .

. . ב. ב. . . . . רי אצוה למכרו ולהשלים השאר וטרם כתבתי
הכתב הזה נזדמנו לי שנים זהובים והיו אצלי במדינת רמלה

[76a] The importance of David b. Isaac in the Fātimid court at Cairo is also evident from fragment Amram (Halper's Catalogue, ibid., p. 539, No. 401) containing a letter from David b. Shekhanya to him. In examining the fragment I have found that there is no doubt that the addressee was David b. Isaac. There he is addressed as

השר הנכבד העומד בפרץ, ומליץ יושר בעד ישראל לפני המלך והשרים והגבירה והסריסים, היפה במושבו וסופריו סביביו מב.... לקול ניבו.

In II, 144, l.6, probably read רבנא דויד ש'צ הל[וי] instead of הכ[והן]. The כ' is very likely the bottom of ל'.

מן הירושלמים זקנים וכתבו אלי איש בעל הזהובים כי נתקבלו
שני עשר זהובים וכי השאר הם יקחוהו ממני בעזרת בוראי
ואני אכתוב אליהם שוב. . . . קבלה עם ספ[ר] הדיוקנאות
אשר נתקבלו כי יש אשר. . . . . אשר בשם רבנא
עמרם ש"צ בן לוי השיבה הזקן רב[נ]א עלי אליו וכמו כן המשלחת
אשר שלח אליו רבנא עובדיה ש"צ בן רב' יפת נ"נ לא קבלה עליו
וכבר כתב אליו בכן וכמו כן הדיוקני אשר מאת רב' כלף בן תעלב
אשר אל רב' יוסף עם הדיוקני אשר מאת כג"ק מו"ר אפרים החבר
אל בן ניסן שתיהן כתבתים במכתב אל בני והדיוקני אשר מאת
השר רב' דויד ש"צ עודנה עלולה כי רב' מבורך הסופר אמר כי
קבלה אבל נתעוררו אנשי החיל על הסופרים ונתחבאו מפני[הם]
אול. . אשר. . . יתן והדיוק[ני] אשר מאת רב' שלמה ש"צ בן סעדיה
לא הגיעה אל רב' לוי ש"צ כל אשר קבלו הדיוקני. . . בשבע[ים]
ואחד זהובים ושליש קבלו אותה בפניהם הודעתי אותו את כל
הדבר. ואני אודיעך א[הובי] כי נגלו לי דרכי האיש הזה מאת כב' גד'
קד' מר' ור' טוביה השלי[שי] ש"צ כי כל ראש ואב ושלישי וכל סמוך
בישיבה אצלו מקפחי דרכים בו. . . . . אין להם אמונה וכי כל
דרכיהם דרכי. . . . ים סעפים ועל כן נחשבתי אצלו כמו כן ובוראי יודע
כי כל הונו וממונו השובים בעיני כאין וכאפס ולא זאת היתה התקוה
ואני יודע כי כל זאת מאת אחיהו [ח]תני כי אני יוד[ע] אות[ו] בה[י]ות המריבה
בי[נו] ובין נאון נוחו עדן כי כל כתב אשר היה נכתב. . . היה אומר. . . כת[בו]
אתם כל אשר תרצו ואני בדבר אחד אפר את הכל כי הוא שומע לעצתו
אבל תיטב נפשו ותנוח דעתו כי לו כתב למחול עליהם לא הייתי מקבל
לעולם וכבר קדמה שבועתי ובעזרת בוראי כתב קבלה יכתבו. . . . .
הירושלמים כי קבלו והכל מיד[י] ואף על פי שיש לי אני עליהם שבע עש[רה]
זהובים חלף עבודתי שנה עוד לא. . . . ומהם לא מכרתי. . . .
ועל דבר אחיהו חתני י"י . . . . . ואשר כתב אל הסופר מעדל
עוד לא נתקבלו ואפילו. . . . . זהובים אשר אמר. . . אותו

8a. Solomon b. Yehuda and his rival Abraham b. Natan.

The unfortunate conflict in the Palestinian school, which resulted in the setting up of a rival to the veteran Gaon Solomon, has been fully discussed in Vol. I, pp. 141-51, on the basis of the fragments given in Vol. II, pp. 159-74, and supplemented ibid. pp. 352-4. Another letter on this episode from Solomon to his friend and staunch supporter, Ephraim b. Shemarya, is found in the Cairo Collection (L. 1, paper, complete, but here and there rubbed off). Solomon replies to Ephraim's letter wherein he included a decision rendered by 'the mighty elder, the elder of

the generation' in conjunction with the other communal leaders in Cairo-Fusṭāṭ, a decision which Solomon approves. This prominent elder is probably Abraham al-Tustari, who wielded great power in the court till his assassination in 1048 (I, 76 ff.). After referring to his stay at Ramlah and to the case of a woman the whereabouts of whose husband was unknown, the Gaon alludes to his rival, who first became Ab whereas the 'Third', who had a real claim to the dignity, was sidetracked (as described in I., 142-3). Soon this rival set himself up as Gaon and was accepted by the congregants of a synagogue in Ramlah on account of which the house of worship was closed by the authorities (see I, 145,149). Solomon is very bitter in his denunciation of the people who were the cause of this scandal. He finally resigns himself to God's will with regard to the security of his position, which is being undermined, and thanks a certain donor and also a dignitary called משוש הישיבה (referred to in the other epistles, see II, 162, and I, 278).

Herewith follows the letter discussed above.

ליקר פאר אהובנו וחברנו. השומר משמרת. ונוצר מחברת. הוא כב' גד' קד' מר' ורב'
אפרים החבר. אשר לכת הצדק מתחבר. וחילים יגבר. ומתלעות עוולים ישבר. ישמרהו צדק דובר. ויהי בעזרו להגבר. מישרים לדבר. ופנים להסבר. וימציאו חן ושכל טוב בעת ידבר. וייטיב זכרו כמור עובר. בן כב' מר' ורב' שמריהו נוחו עדן

5 גע מכתבו ש"צ[77] והודיע תשובת הזקן האדיר זקן הדור צור יחמיד כבודו ותשובות הזקנים. ישמרם אדוני האדונים. כי כן ראוי להעשות ולא לנתוץ התקנה א[ש]ר נכתבה באניסות ונתאחרתי ברמלה מאחרי כת[בתי] הכתב שמונה עשר יום עד ראש חודש כסלו מקוה היו[ם ו]מחר. וכאשר ראיתי כי הדבר נתאחר. לא
נתכן לי עוד לשבת. ולא להכביד עול על עושה חסד בתושבת. והעגונה היא עוד
10 עדנה יושבת אלמנות חיות לא יכולתי להאריך כי אביה היה קובל בכל עת אלי לאמר הושיעה התירו האסורה הצועקת בכל שנה ולא היה לאל יד כי כללם מחזקים ידי זה את זה ובאי'ם[78] נעשה חיל. ואשר זכר בעד הזקן האביר זקן הדור יהי צור עזרו. וצל סתרו. ארור הגבר אשר יבטח באדם ושם בשר זרועו מי"י אלהינו

[77] =שמרו צורו.
[78] =ובאלהים.

בו להעזר אני בצורי בטחתי ואליו פי קראתי. ורוממותו תחת לשוני והוא תקותי.
15 אם אשר נגזר עליו להעבירו. על כי לא שמע דברו. לא הורד כל ימי חייו ממקומו.
עד יום אשר הלך אל בית עולמו. ואשר נבחר לישב במקומו. לא ישב עד כמה הגיד להקימו. הקופץ והפורץ גדר יעלה לראש להתהדר. והנשאל במשאל ילך קודר. ואם נגזרה גזירה להעברה. מקובל דין איום ונורא. כי לו הגדולה והגבורה. ואולי לטובה ולא לרעה למחילה ולכפרה. להנצל מיום הבא ומאש בוערה.
ומיוסרין[79]
20 וסופה וסערה. להנצל משררה. מאשה זרה ומנכריה מדרכי יושר מסירה. ואל דרכי שאול
גוררה. מה[80] הוא אשר יקחו ממנו עוזריו והטועים אחריו בהון אשר יתן יוקשו דבריו ודברי חבריו לסגור בית תפלה. ולהעשות ממנו תהלה. לשומה שוממה מקהלה. כן יישמו בת [יה]ם בבהלה. ויהיו מעי מפלה. ויוקח מהם קללה. זה יהי חלק אדם עריץ לנחלה. ו[הב]וטח בי"י חסדו יסובבנו. ובצלו יקוננו.
25 ביושרו יחוננו. והחומס יבוקש ואיננו. לא ידמה בנפשו כי תעלה בידו
על שערי שרים בסובבו הלכתו. ואם נגזרה גזירת אל ואין בלתו. לא תו . . בה
רע [ה] ואם אשר נתנה לו באמתו. כמה. . . . . וה אף כי חולק. . . . .
אש להציתה. ואני באחרית ימי לא אדע יום מיתה. ה. . . . . .
ולפרוץ גדר גאוני ישיבות. ולקלקל הנתיבות. הקורא בשם הוא יעשה הכל
30 להשפיל ולהרים לתת לאשר ישר בעיניו. ולטוב לפניך. ויודיע למשוש ישיבה.
ולאשר הגדבה. כי הפלנו תחנה בעדם על עדם[81] דורם לסעדם ולהפוך. ש. .
נחליים. להחיותם להתהלך לפני י"י בארצות החיים. והוא בחסדו יעשה ושלומו
ירבה סלה

To the fragments emanating from Natan during his period of office as Gaon (II, 167-74) should be added a letter from him to 'Amram b. Yefet at Fusṭāṭ of which only the beginning has been preserved (Cairo Collection, L 17 (MC), paper, damaged)

ליקירנו חשובנו מרנא [ור]בנא עמרם בר יפת נ"ע

הזקן הטוב ישמרו קדושנו ישע יקרב
פסטאט ברצון אל

(Recto)

נתן ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב
בירבי אברהם זכ[ר]ו לברכה
לזקנינו חשובנו [מ]שוש לבנו חבצלת שרוננו ערוגת בשמנו אשכל
כפרנו מגדלות מרקחנו אבירנו מרנא ורבנא עמרם היקר

[79] Read ומיסורין.
[80] Better מי.
[81] Better על עדתם ודורם

There follow two more lines of greeting. 'Amram is perhaps identical with the person mentioned in a letter by Solomon (II, 144, 1.3)

9. Palestinian Communities.

A few more data are now available to supplement the section dealing with a number of Palestinian congregations in the 11th century (I, 153-71; II, 175-204, 355-6). A letter from Jerusalem to Fusṭāṭ thanking for a donation of 10 Dinars, forwarded by the elder Solomon b. Sa'adya (mentioned frequently in the other fragments, see Vol. II, Index s. v.), again testifies to the poverty of the community and to its dependence on outside help.

(Cairo Collection, L. 286, paper, top and bottom missing, damaged, verso blank).

(Address, verso)

תראינה ירושלם נווה שאנן אהל בל יצען בל יסע יתידותיו לנצ[ח] וכל [חבליו] בל ינתקו.[82] ומעט מהרבה נשארנו כי עונותינו גרמו לנו וחטאינו ענו [בנו כי] פשענו אתנו ועונותינו ידענום כי צדק י"י אי'נו בכל מעשיו אשר ע[שה לנו] וכמעט מחובינו נגבינו. ולא כרוע מעשינו גמלנו. ולא כפי פעלנו שיל[ם לנו] ולולי חסדו הנטוי עלינו. וחנו המצאוי לנו. אזי ספנו וכלינו. והיינו כלא [היו] ברוך אי'נו אשר לא עזב חסדו ואמתו מעמנו. ויזכר לנו לפדותינו. ברית עם אבותינו.

שלא למאסנו ולגעלנו. ואם גברו מעלינו. והורעו מפעלינו. לא יכלו לכלינו כהבטחת

ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא מאסתים ולא געלתים לכלותם להפר בריתי אתם כי אני י"י אלהיהם.[83] ועם כל אלה הצרות אשר אפפונו. והרעות אשר תכפונו. והגזרות אשר הקיפונו. והמצוקות אשר סיגפונו. והמאורעות אשר אפפונו. לא העדרנו המשאל בעד יקירנו בכל עת ובשמעינו כי הוא שלום וחסד אל עדיהו תדור אזי ישמחו לבבותינו. ותעלוזנה כליותינו. ושבחו מפינו לא ימוש וזכרו הטוב לא יפסק כפי הסדיו [ע]לינו כנדבותיו התדירות עלינו. ובימים האלה הגיעה נדבתו החשובה האהובה. המאודרת ונהדרת. על ידי מרנא ורבנא שלמה זקן הבין[84] ושב המדע העשוי נחת רוח בן רב סעדיה נ"נ[85] וקיבלנוה מיד מרנא ורבנא לוי הח' והנ'[86]

[82] Isaiah 33[20].

[83] Lev. 26[44].

[84] Paiṭanic form for הבינה.

[85] = נוחו נפש.

[86] = החכם והנבון. Here the sum was received by Levi b. Pinḥas but in another fragment (II, 134) we have Solomon b. Sa'adya handing over the donations to Levi החכם והנבון b. Menaḥem. Perhaps here פינחס is a slip of the pen for מנחם (both words being similar in script).

היקר ונכבד בן רבנא פינחס והיא עשרה זהובים שקולים טובים. ונוציאם על כלל נדבת אחינו הקהלות הקדושים. בפדיון נפשים.[87] ההיו מנושים. כלואים וחבושים. נטושים רטושים. רשים כפושים. ואז נקבעו יחד כל עם י"י המוצאים בירושלים נערים וזקנים. חכמים ונבונים. אנשים ונשים. וטף וישישים. והוסספנו תפלות בתחן[88] בחילות פני דר מעונות. להמציא חנינות. בכל עתות ועונות. לזקינינו וחשובינו. וידידינו ונגידנו. גם לכל הזקנים. אשר אורח מתקנים. ולעיר קדשם מקנים.[89] ואת שוכניה קונים.[90] ולכל קהלות אי'נו אשר שתו על לבם לפקוד את אחיהם גם לשאול בשלום ירושלם. ולעורר את אהבתה כי בכן ישלוו. וגם הרבינו להתחנן על שערי מקדש אי'נו ובהר הזיתים שיהי רצון מלפניו לשמוע ממנו בעד זקינינו ונדיבינו ובעד כל הזקנים וכל עם י"י יחד כל תפלה בתהלה. וכל תחינה בחנינה. וכל בקשה בדרישה. וכל רחישה ולחישה. וכל

With regard to Tiberias there is a document in the Cairo Collection containing a declaration of a certain 'Amram, who held a power of attorney, before witnesses dated on Rosh Ḥodesh Adar, בשנת הארבעת אלפים ושמונה מאות ואחת עשרה שנה [ליצ]ירת העולם, במד[ינ]ת טיברי [ה] שעל ים כנרת מושבה (1051 C.E.) and signed by Zekharya Hallevi b. Moses, Mebasser b. Solomon, Isaac Hallevi b. Solomon and Isaac [b.] Abraham.

Near fortified Ashḳelon, which was able to maintain itself against the Crusaders, there was a small fortress by the name of Ḥaṣor wherefrom a letter from the Ḥaber of the local Jewish community to the Nagid Meborak was given in II, 199-200. In the Adler Collection (Nr. 4104, fol. 15) there is to be found an epistle to this congregation on behalf of a Reader, who was to succeed his father and who met with opposition on the part of a rival. The writer seems to have been a Gaon. As he refers to his three priestly sons he can well be identified with the Palestinian Gaon Elijah Hakkohen, the father of Ebyatar Gaon, Solomon and Ṣadoḳ (I, 101, 187). Elijah's period of office was 1062-83. The above-mentioned letter from the local Ḥaber was evidently written towards the end of the century just before the arrival of the Crusaders.

[87] For נפשות to suit the rhyme. מנושים (from נשה) evidently means 'indebted', but read perhaps אנושים, in despair.

[88] Paiṭanic masc. of תחנה.

[89] For מקנאים, zealous, to suit the rhyme.

[90] Read perhaps חוננים, are gracious to its inhabitants.

(Paper, damaged and torn, verso blank).

שלום השמ[ים. מיוש]ב ירושלים.
לאלפי
פעמים. לכלל הקהל הקדוש הדרים
במבצר חצור ישמרם צורם. ויעזרם
יוצרם. על דבר כבוד שמו.
קד תקדם כתאבנא אלי גמאעה
ישמרם צורם כננא נחן גניין ען
אעאדה
מאתאמה וסבת האדה אלחרף
אן
אתצלבנא אן ולד חלפון אלרמלי ש"צ
יתקדם נשמת וסביל אלחזן אללוי
ש"צ
יעלם לע[נ]ד ולד יוסף אהוב הישיבה
ש"צ

ויכון האדה סבת [ה]אדא סבת[91]
ליכתבי
טאלבי אלצורה פי ישראל ואדא
תפצל
אללה תעאלי עלי ראש הקהל וכב...
ולדה ותעלם איצא ית. . . בה אלחזן
ליכון ימלא מקום אבותיו והמקב"ה[92]
ירבה עושה[92a] רצונו בישראל ושלומכם
אחינו יגדל לעד ושלום ראש הקהל
ובן דודו ואחיו ושלום אהוב הישיבה
ושלום החזן הלוי וכל נלויכם יועצם
ושלושת חמודינו סגני הכהונה
ישמרם צורם מעצימים שלומכם
נצח וכן יהי רצון.

Of the community in Jaffa very little is heard in the 11th century. But a Geṭ of 1077 in the Cairo Collection (published in Almaliah's מזרח ומערב, I, 358) testifies to its existence. The document is dated on Sivān 18th of 4837 A. M., which happened to be a Shemiṭṭah year, במדינת יפו דאית על ימא רבא נחלת בני דן. The signatories are Yefet the Ḥazzān b. Abraham Ḥazzān and Aaron b. Meborak.

10. Nesiim in Egypt in the 11th century.

The problem of Exilarchs holding office in other countries of the Diaspora besides Babylon, especially in Syria, Palestine and Egypt (I, 171 ff.), is still obscured by the lack of sufficient data and also by the recurrence of the same names, which makes it difficult to place the various Nesiim in proper sequence. With regard to Egypt a document in the Cairo Collection (A. 43, paper, damaged, verso contains a Piyyuṭ) tells us of a Nasi in Fusṭāṭ in 1055 by the name of Joshiah b. Solomon. During this period Daniel b. 'Azarya was Nasi and Gaon of Palestine (1051-62). How their respective spheres of authority were divided is diffi-

[91] Repeated in Ms.
[92] =והמקום ברוך הוא.
[92a] Better עושי.

cult to ascertain. In this document, the beginning of which is given here, it is stated that the Ḥaber 'Ali, the successor of Ephraim b. Shemarya as spiritual leader of the Palestinian community in Fusṭāṭ and the trusted friend of Daniel b. 'Azarya (I, 202, 180 ff; II, 360 ff.), appeared with a number of elders at the residence of this Nasi Joshiah to investigate a case of inheritance. What official standing the Nasi had in Fusṭāṭ is obscure. Should we assume that his father Solomon Nasi also resided in Fusṭāṭ? If so, his time would be the first half of the 11th century. How long Joshiah flourished is again unknown. From our remarks in Vol. I, 253-4, it seems that Yehuda Nagid, the brother of the more famous Nagid Meborak, was supported in his election to this dignity by a Nasi Ḥasdai, who evidently lived in Egypt. Should we say that Ḥasdai was a son of Joshiah since Yehuda probably became Nagid after 1062 C. E.? Here again we must await further information.[92b]

The document begins as follows:

(Recto)

בחמשה בשבה דהוא חמסר יומין בירח תמוז שנת אלפא ותלת מאה ושתין
ושתה שנין למנינא דרגילנא ביה בפסטאט מצרים דעל נילוס נהרא מותבה
הצר כב' גד' קד' מרו"ר עלי החבר בסנהדרין גדולה המעולה בחבורת הצדק
בית דין מפי בית דין הגדול מע גמאעה שיוך זקני תורה מושב סידנא
אלרייס כבוד גדולת קדושת מרינו ורבינו יאשיהו הנשיא הגדול ישמרו
אלהינו בן כבוד גדולת קדושת מרינו ורבינו שלמה הנשיא נוחו עדן
לינטרו פי מיראת יהודה ואחיותיו בני תמאם וקבל אן נטרו פי שי
מן אלירושות אקני מן מבורך היורש בר ישראל קנין חמור בכלי
הכשר אנה קאבל עלי נפסה דיני ישראל פי הדה אל ירושה מתחלה
ועד סופה פרצי בדלך בפני הזקנים וכו'

Other persons mentioned are Samuel היתום b. Yehuda and Aaron b. X. 'Ali the Ḥaber is said to be a judge by authority of the 'high Bet-Din.' This court was that of the Nagid as shown infra sub No. 14, end. About Nesiim in Egypt in the 12th and 13th centuries, cf. the data given in II, 209-10.

11. Ḳaraite Nessiim in Egypt.

The Ḳaraites had in 'Anan, the founder of their sect, a member of the family of the Exilarchs in Babylon and, following

[92b] See also Mann, *Poznanski Memorial Volume*, Hebrew part, (in print).

the custom of the Rabbanites, would revere his descendants for their origin from the royal family of David. Owing to persecutions at the hands of their opponents, these sectaries migrated early to the West, viz. to Palestine and Egypt, where they established strong centers. It is probable that some of 'Anan's descendants flourished in Jerusalem as Ḳaraite Nesiim (see I, 59 ff.) but for Fusṭāṭ we have now documentary evidence concerning such Nesiim throughout the 11th century and beyond. The data discussed in I, 176 ff., on the basis of the fragments given in II, 210 ff, are now supplemented by an interesting betrothal document in the Cairo Collection (A. 2, paper, top, bottom and interior portion torn) which we reproduce here. It is dated Nisan 12th, 1362 Sel. (1051 C. E.) at Fusṭāṭ and evidently deals with the case of a so-called 'mixed' engagement of a Rabbanite residing at Tyre and a Ḳaraite maiden of Fusṭāṭ. The bridegroom appointed as his agent the elder Solomon, the son of the important Kātib 'Adayah b. Menasse (ibn al-Ḳazzāz, see above sub No. 1). The document of power of attorney (ספר הפקידות) must have been issued at least six months before, still in 1361 Sel. (l. 17). The present document was drawn up before the Ḳaraite Nasi of Fusṭāṭ David b. Ṣemaḥ. The latter Ṣemaḥ Nasi is evidently identical with the Nasi Ṣemaḥ b. Asa Nasi mentioned in a Ḳaraite Ketuba of 1036 also drawn up at Fusṭāṭ (II, 211). Till when David flourished is unknown. Another Ketuba of 1062, also written at Fusṭāṭ, mentions a Nasi Ḥezekiah b. Solomon (II, 212, No. 4) who seems to be identical with Ḥezekiah b. Solomon b. David b. Bo'az. Hezekiah's son, Ḥasdai, figures in another Ketuba of 1109 (ibid, No. 5). The memorial list (ibid. 210, No. 1) mentions also before Ṣemaḥ a Nasi Yefet who evidently was also at the head of the Ḳaraite community of Fusṭāṭ (see I, 176) but his relationship with Ṣemaḥ b. Asa is not indicated. Perhaps he was another son of Asa. We have thus in Fusṭāṭ during the 11th century and downwards the following Nesiim:

Asa
Yefet
Ṣemaḥ b. Asa (1036)
David b. Ṣemaḥ (1051)

Hezekiah b. Solomon (1062)
Ḥasdai b. Hezekiah (1109)

These Nesiim seem to have resided in Fusṭāṭ. There still remains the question raised in Vol. I, 178, note 1, with regard to Hezekiah and his brother Joshiah, who seem to have resided in Jerusalem, because the Bible Codex donated by Israel b. Simḥah was to be under their care. But it may be that some time after 1051 Hezekiah left the Holy Land to succeed David b. Ṣemaḥ as Ḳaraite Nasi of Fusṭāṭ. Hezekiah's father Solomon and his progenitor, David and Bo'az, apparently held their office in Jerusalem. David b. Bo'az distinguished himself as a Bible exegete (see about him Posn., *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 226-8). The date 993 C.E. for the time of composition of his commentary on Ḳohelet would fit in with this chronology seeing that his grandson Hezekiah flourished in 1062.

. . . . . [דר]כי האדם והמישר ארהותם ומצעדם
. . . . . [והבוטח בי"י חסד] יסובנו ישמח צדיק בי"י וחסה בו[93]
. . . . . [כי מה טובו ומה יפיו] ודגן בחורים ותירוש ינובב בתולות:[94]
. . . [וארשתיך לי לעולם וארשתיך לי בצדק ובמ]שפט ובחסד וברחמים: וארשתיך
לי [באמונה וידעת את י"י:[95] בח]יי הארושה ש[וש]נה[96] תפריח. ובחיי 5
הכלה אשר
. . . . . [ובח]יי בעלי מקרא וכל ישראל הגאלה תפריח. ככ' תרחה לכם[97]
. . . . . בשבוע שהוא שנים עשר מחודש ניסן משנת אלף ושלש מאות ושתים
וששים שנים למספר יונים בארץ
[מצרים שעל נהר פי]שון מושבה ביום הזה היה ארישת מרנא ורבנא הזקן שלה
החכם והנבון שמרו צורו בן הזקן עמרם הידוע אלקרקסא[ני][98]
אשר הוא ביום הזה במדינת צור בימאן הנערה הבתולה בת הזקן דויד יחיהו אל
בן ישעיהו המלמד אשר היה גבור בתורה נוח נפש והעיד על נפשו בקנין
10 בתאותו וחפצו ותם גופו ושכלו והוא לא אנוס ולא מכרח ולא שכור ולא שוגה
ויתודה הודאה גמורה בעדים נאמנים נתקיימת עדותם לפני אדוננו
הנשיא הגדול דוד יאריך ימיו בנעימים בן אדנינו הנשיא צמח נוחו עדן אלהים כי
הזקן שלה הזה שלח למרנא ורבנא שלמה היקר והנכבד

[93] Ps. 32^{10} 64^{11}.
[94] Zech. 9^{17}.
[95] Hosea 2^{21-2}.
[96] A synonym for Israel based on the Aggadic interpretation of Cant. 2^2, cf. Targum a.l.
[97] Mal. 3:20.
[98] It is doubtful whether there is a lacuna for these 2 letters.

בן מרנא ורבנא הזקן עדיה השר יעזרהו אל בן השר הגדול מנשה נוחו בגן עדן
וישאלהו שלה יחיהו אל בן הזקן עמרם להיותו פקיד ונתן אתו והשוה
בנפשו להארש ולקדש לו את ימאן הנערה הבתולה בת הזקן דוד אשר במצרים
על כל אופני הארישות והקידוש שנהגו ישראל ועל דת היהודים
הקדושים ועל כל התנאים אשר הם נזכרים ונקובים בשטר הפקידות אשר שלח
שלה זה הארוש ממדינת צור אל מרנא ורבנא הזקן שלמה
15 [הנכבד] בן מרנא ורבנא הזקן עדיה השר בן מרנא ורבנא הזקן השר הגדול מנשה
נו' נפ'[99] ויענהו וקבל ממנו מר' ור' הזקן שלמה בן השר עדיה
ורצה ל[ה]יותו לו פקיד בשאילתו ויבוא ספר הפקידות לפני אדונינו הנשיא הגדול
דויד יעזרהו אל ויקראהו ויבינהו ונתקיים לפניו כי הוא נכון ויציב והזמין
הנכת[ב] בספר הפקידות בששי בשבת בעשרים ושלשה. . . . . היא
שנת ארבעת אלפים ושמנה מאות ואחת עשרה שנה
ואלה שמות העדים בספר הפקידות שבמדינת צור יפת. . . . . שלמה בן
אברהם ושמואל ברבי משה החבר[100] ויבוא מרו"ר הזקן שלמה הנכבד
בן מרנא ורבנא הזקן השר עדיה פקיד שלה הזקן האר[וש] הזה . . . . העיד על
נפשו הזקנים החתומים למטה בקנין ברצו[נו]
20 והפצו כי האריש את הזקן שלה בן הזקן עמרם. . . . [אל] הנערה [ימאן בת]
דויד בן ישועה המלמד נ' והמוהר אשר התנה
וקצב לה חמשים כסף מוהר בתוליה יתן אותם אליה . . . . . חמשים דרכמונים
טובים ושלמים המקודם
מהם מאה דרכמונים ומאה וחמשים דרכמונים מאוחרים תהיה לה. . . להעלוי
בכתובה ואם חס ושלום וישוב
הזקן שלה הארוש הזה מהשלמת הדבר הזה יהיה לה עליו חצי. . . . [חמ]שים
דרכמונים טובים שקולים שלמים
חוב אמת מוחזק וקים ויבוא אהרן בן סמיח הכהן וצדקה בן סע[דיה] . . . . .
[הנ]ערה הבתולה הראויה לקיום המצות
25 אשר שכלה שלם בת הזקן דויד בן ישעיה המלמד בקנין ב[רצונה וחפצה] . . .
ה את הזקן שלמה בן מסאפר
לעמוד בעשקי ארישתה למר' ור' הזקן שלה בן הזקן [עמרם.] . . . . . מעלה
להיותה לו אשה והוא איש
לה וכן קבלה וחיבה על נפשה כל התנאים אשר התנום . . . . . שלמה בן
מספאר פקיד ימאן הנערה
[הבתו]לה בת הזקן דויד והעיד אתנו על נפשו בקנין כרצונ[נו וחפצו] . . . . .
ימאן הנערה הבתולה בת הזקן
[דויד] לשלה הארוש הזה בן הזקן עמרם להיותה אשתו. . . . . .
והנאמנות זר. . . .

[99] = נוחו נפש.

[100] Samuel b. Moses the Ḥaber is also mentioned in other documents emanating from Tyre (see I, 167-8; II, 196, 355).

The next seven lines are very faded but their drift seems to be that the bride be not prevented from following the customs of her sect since the prospective husband was a Rabbanite. For similar clauses see the other Ketubot in II, 211-12, and also in I, 162, note 1; cf. further the marriage document in *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 220-21. Of the signatories there are still preserved the names of Manṣur b. Mebasser and Samuel b. X.

12. Daniel b. 'Azarya, Nasi and Gaon (1051–62).

The unfavorable characterization of Daniel in 'Megillat Ebyatar' as a usurper is only an one-sided verdict. Ebyatar Hakkohen in his conflict with David b. Daniel visited the sins of the son upon the father. From the data now available it appears that Daniel wielded much authority in Palestine and also in Egypt and that he was popular during his period of office (see I, 183, bottom). Six epistles from him were edited in Vol. II, 215-17, 360-62. One of his chief supporters in Fusṭāṭ was the Ḥaber of the local Palestinian congregation 'Ali b. 'Amram, the successor of Ephraim b. Shemarya (see above p. 279). Another letter to him from Daniel is found in the Adler Collection (No. 4101, fol. 4, paper, torn and damaged; verso contains scribbling).

(Recto)

[אלהים יענה] את שלום נכבדנו וחשובנו. וסגולת חמד [תנו]. ר' עלי החבר
הם [עולה][101]
. . . . ויברכהו וישמרהו. ועל דבר כבוד שמו יעזרהו. ורצון כצנה י [עטרהו][102]
. . . . . [בי]ר' עמרם זכ' לב' קדמו מכתב [י] עדי [הו] ולא ספק כי הגיע [ו לו]
. . . . . [ו]מקוים אנו ביאת התשובה בקר [ו]ב וכן יהי רצון
. . . . . ואהובנו מר' מרואן ביר' פקיר אחיינון ומ'. 5
. . . . . מסגולות אהובנו [וכ]לל חביבנו ירצה להכנס בשנ. . . . .
למצ[רים]
[לעשות] את צרכיו וזכר כי יש לו אצל יוסף בר' יעקב זהובים והם מעו. . . . .
. . . . . כמה עתים ורוצה הוא להזמינו לדין או שיתן או שיתקן הדבר
[בעצ]מו כרצונם ועתה נכבדנו החבר יעיין בינימו באמונה וצד [ק]
ויחת [ו]ר הדין[103] כאשר יתברר ולא יעלים עין וישים כל כ. פנחי. . . . 10
את יקירנו מ' מרואן בדינו והשפטו עם בעל דינו ואל יאח [ר] מכתב [ו]

[101] About this title of 'Ali see I, 192.

[102] Ps. 5^{13}.

[103] The expression חתר דין is unusual. Read perhaps ויחתוך הדין which recurs frequently in the Talmudic literature.

כאשר יעשה בזה הענין כי אנו מחכים לידע הש[נת] חפצו
באומן וישרון.[104] ו. . יפיקהו לרצון. ושלומו ירבה ל[עד]
[וישוע]ה.

It was the manner of Daniel to conclude with the phrase 'salvation' and thereby express his wish of the speedy coming of the Redemption. Sherira, Hai and also Solomon b. Yehuda would use a similar phrase ישע רב (I, 146, 179; II, 360, 378). In the present letter Daniel requests 'Ali to aid a certain Merwān, a friend of the Gaon, in his lawsuit against Joseph b. Jacob. Merwān is about to go to Fusṭāṭ where evidently Joseph resided.

Another fragment in Ms. Adler (No. 3765, fol., paper, top, bottom and left-hand side torn; verso contains Midrashic passages in another hand) evidently is also a letter from Daniel, as is borne out by a comparison of the handwriting. The occasion seems to have been the demise of the Ab of the school, Joseph Hakkohen, who died suddenly during Ḥanukah of 1365 Sel. (end of 1053), as we learn from Ebyator's Scroll. Joseph's brother Elijah, the father of Ebyatar, then succeeded him as Ab and after Daniel's death in 1062 became Gaon. Ebyatar describes the conflict between Daniel and Joseph, the latter having been arrested at the instigation of the former.[105] In our fragment Daniel expresses his grief at the death of the Ab and states that proper memorial service was held at the school for him. Of course this conflict took place because the brothers Joseph and Elijah refused to recognize Daniel's Gaonate. After the death of Solomon b. Yehuda in 1051 they came forward with the claim of 'inheritance' (ירושה) since their father Solomon Hakkohen was the predecessor of the late Gaon Solomon. But they could not carry through their claim owing to Daniel's prestige and finally had to come to an agreement with him whereby there was assigned to the elder brother Joseph the office of Ab and to Elijah that of 'Third'. After Joseph's death Elijah advanced as Ab and finally as Gaon. The whole conflict concerned claims of personal advancement and hence Ebyatar's characterization of it should

[104] Paiṭanic forms for אמונה ויושר. In the next words the three dots indicate the Divine Name and likewise in Daniel's other letters (see II, 217, ll.15 and 18, 361, l.4).

[105] See Schechter's *Saadyana*, 88.

not be fully accepted since it represents only an one-sided version of the affair.

Herewith follows the fragment.

(Recto)

הבורתנו. והעגים בני ישיבתנו. והש[מים]. . . . . .
הכהן אב בית דין שלכל ישראל רי' [ת][106]. . . . . .
וכיוצא בהם והאנח[107] הגדול וה. . . . . .
בימי חליו ו. . . . . .
10 מאת.ר. [108] בכינו. ו. . . . . .
שוממים עד אשר. . . . . .
כי באה. הראש הגיעה. . . . . .
וסופרים על שדים וכיהתה כל רוח וכל כוש[ר]. .
כי נפלה עברה משמים הלא תדעו יושבי [א]ריאל. . . .
15 נפלו גיבורים. משיבי מלחמה בשערים. . . . . .
ראשיהם זקניהם ישישיהם ויזעקו. . .
והספדנו עליו במר נפש כאשר עשה ר' יצחק בן [ואלעזר קשה]
היום קשה לישראל כיום בא השמש בצהר[ים דכתיב והבאתי]
השמש בצהרים והחשכתי לארץ ביום אור[109] ואמ' ר'. . . .
20 קוינו למרגעה. באה היגיעה. וכאשר ייחלנו נופ[ש]. . .
השקיטה. הנפש נקטה. והיד מטה. ואמרו רבות' ז"ל [110]
בעת שייאסף מישראל אדם גדול או בחכ[מה]. . . .

In the middle of the 11th century there flourished in Spain Samuel ibn Nagdela, renowned alike as statesman, scholar and poet. His son Joseph succeeded him as Wezir in 1055 and till his tragic end in 1066 worthily carried on the traditions of his great father. Their fame spread far and wide and it is only natural that Daniel b. 'Azarya corresponded with them. No doubt he and his school benefited by their bounty. The Gaon would in return bestow upon them honorary titles in connection with the academy and his additional dignity as Nasi. Of these relations we learn expressly from an interesting letter to Joseph ibn Nagdela

[106] = רוח י"י תניחנו.

[107] See note 71.

[108] See note 104.

[109] Cf. M. K. 25b: on the death of R. Yoḥanan R. Isaac b. El'azar opened the memorial oration with the remark קשה היום לישראל כיום בא השמש בצהרים, quoting this verse of Amos 8[9].

[110] = רבותינו זכרונם לברכה.

and his brother Elyasaf[111] sent by 'Ali b. 'Amram, the Ḥaber of Fusṭāṭ, shortly after the demise of their father Samuel in 1055. The epistle is found in Ms. Adler, No. 3765, fol. 8., from which we give here excerpts.

(Address, verso)

יובל בשמחת וגיל. ביד כל רגיל[112]. לכנ"ק מרנא ורבנא יהוסף
נגיד הגולה. ונזר סגולה. כתר ישראל. עטרת ישרי אל.
ישמרה[113] אלי'ם עד כל אל. ויחיש הגואל.
בן כנ"ק מרנא ורבנא שמואל הלוי והנגיד תנצב"ה נוחו עדן.

(Recto)

של [ום ש]לום אל נזר האמ[ונו]ת. הדר התבונות. פאר החכמה. הוד המזמה.
גדול וכו'
6 שר השרים.[114] מהולל בפי המשוררים. נגיד הנגידים. אח לחסידים. ברבות
החסדים
9 ושמעו הולך בכל הארצות כאיש אשר היה שמעו בכל הארץ[115] הוא כבוד גדולת
קדושת מרנא ורבנא יהוסף הנג[יד הג]דול נגיד הגולה. ועטרת סגולה. ראש לזקני
עגולה[116]
12 . . . . בן כבוד גדולת קדוש[ת] (13) מרנא ורבנא שמואל הלוי שהיה נג'ד ישראל
ומאלף חוק
ומשפט לישרי אל. נוח[ו] (14) עדן מלונו גן מצעו כבוד ייי תניחנו ת'נ'צ'ב'ה'
וכן יהי רצון שלום
אל האור (15) המזהיר המובהק וכו'. (18) . . . ישמרהו שוכן מעונים. ינחילהו
בנים הגונים. יתן
(19)לו חן וכבוד ויקר וגדולה כבן זקונים. גם ישמר אלהינו וינצור ויעזור
ויתנוב[117] גם (20) יפאר
(21) ויהדר ויגדל את שם כנ"ק מרנא ורבנא אליסף החכם והנבון יוסיף לו אלהינו
השם הנכבד ויעלה מעלתו למעלה למעלה וכו'

The writer continues to refer to his former letters to his correspondents in one of which he mentioned the memorial ser-

[111] This second son of Samuel was hitherto unknown. A third son Yehuda evidently died when still young (see שמואל הנגיד שירי ר' כל, ed. Brody, 68, note 1).

[112] = רַגִּיל, traveller.

[113] Better ישמרהו אלי'ם (=אלהים) אשר על כל אל.

[114] Also the Egyptian Nagid was styled so (see I, 254, 256).

[115] i. e. like Joshu'a (Joshua 6^{27}).

[116] The elders of the Sanhedrin used to sit in semicircle (see Sanh. 4^{3}); cf. also note 66.

[117] The root is נוב, but our writer erroneously formed a new root תנב from the noun תנובה.

vice held by him for their father when the news of his death had reached Fusṭāṭ, ll.27-29: ואיצא כתבת כתבה צמנתהא מן בעד אלהספיד אלדי קופת פי אלגמוע... פי וצול אלשמועה הרעה באסיפת האדון נגיד ישראל נוחו עדן פי השכבות עמלתהא לה פי גמע ספדנים ומקוננים והיה כבוד רב לנאסף עם אבות עולם מושבו ומשכבו עדן.

He further mentions the new title given to Joseph by Daniel b. ʿAzarya (11.34-37):

גם השם הנכון החדש והכנויים אשר קראהו וכינהו אדוננו דניאל הנשיא הגדול ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב יחי לעד ישימם אלהינו על האדון הנגיד האדיר סימן טוב סימן גאולה ו[ר]יוח והצלה ואורה ושמחה וכו'

The epistle is concluded by a poem in honor of Joseph and his brother. Now this composition was originally for the important Abraham (Abu Saʿad) b. Sahl al-Tustari and his brother (published in Vol. II, 75-7). Here the lines are remodelled to suit the two brothers Joseph and Elyasaf. Thus l. 7 of the poem reads here: הלא המה שני פרחי לויה נגיד הדור ואליסף אמונים.

The author of the original poem is unknown but it is certain that he wrote it before 1048 when Abraham was assassinated (see I, 76 ff.). Perhaps he should be identified with ʿAli b. ʿAmram, the writer of our epistle. He therefore took the liberty a few years later, viz. after 1055, to make use of the same eulogistic poem by remodelling it to serve for the present purpose. The writer's signature is found on the margin: אוהב שלומם ודורש טובם עלי החבר המעולה בחבורה הקבוע במצרים ברבי עמרם השליח ז"ל

It is unknown what new name and titles were bestowed upon Joseph by Daniel. Probably they were similar to those given to other benefactors of the academy such as אהוב הישיבה, בחיר הישיבה, etc. (see I, 278-9). As Nasi Daniel would also bestow titles in connection with the Nesiut such as דגל הנשיאות, חדות הנשיאות, etc. (see I, 272, top). Needless to say for such 'degrees' Daniel expected donations and probably he was not disappointed. Likewise ʿAli b. ʿAmram must have been rewarded for his eulogistic lines. A similar letter from our ʿAli to a Nagid Yehoseph b. Samuel was published in II, 221-2. Because neither father nor son were styled Hallevi it was assumed in I, 183-4, that this Yehoseph was the son of Samuel b. Palṭiel, the first Nagid of Egypt. But now it is clear that both letters were dispatched to Yehoseph (Joseph) b. Samuel ibn Nagdela of Granada. In this

second letter 'Ali gently hints to the donation (התשורה) which he is awaiting with the joy such as one has at harvesting (כשמחת הקצירה), viz. the five Dinars (חמשת הזהובים) the arrival of which must have been previously announced to him. Herein he adds that on every occasion when he recites at his synagogue a prayer for the welfare of his spiritual head, Daniel Nasi-Gaon, he couples with it that of the Nagid Joseph. Of Samuel ibn Nagdela it is reported by Ibn Daud (ספר סדר הקבלה, ed. Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chronicles*, I, 72) that "he did great favors to Israel in Spain, Maghreb, North-Africa, *Egypt*, Sicily, reaching to the academy of Babylon (Bagdad = בבל) and the *Holy City*". No doubt his son Joseph followed in his footsteps. From the above letters we see how they have been afforded the opportunity of supporting scholars in Palestine and in the country of the Nile.

13. The End of the Palestinian Gaonate and the First Crusade.

After Daniel's demise in 1062 Elijah Hakkohen succeeded him to the Gaonate which office he held till 1083. The economic conditions in the Holy Land were unfavorable and became worse by reason of the Seljūḳ invasion. In 1071 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the invaders and very likely the school could not be maintained there and had to be transferred to one of the coastal cities still in the possession of the central Fāṭimid Government of Egypt. We therefore hear of the school being situated after 1071 in Ḥaifa and afterwards in Tyre (see I, 189, 192). From a document in the Adler Collection (2557, vellum, torn and damaged, verso contains Piyyuṭim) we see that in 4831 A. M. (1070–71) the school was still in Jerusalem. We give here the essential lines of the fragment:

(1) מה שהיה לפנינו בית דין הגדול והזקנים חוקקי כיר [118] ידינו למטה כן היה כי שועה[119] בן (2) משה הקצור נשא סת אלביין בת ברכאת בן אברהם נודע גאיהי וילדה ממנו בת והלך לו היום שתי שנים (3) למצרים וחיית הבת הדשים ומתה ונשללה רמלה ויצאו שבויים ערומים ורעבים ובא בעת זה[120] אביה והיא (4) צועקים ואומרים כי יש לשועה זה בן משה חצי הדירה כי כן הבטחנו [121] ועל כן סמכנו וצוינו ונתנו להם וכו'

[118] See note 34.

[119] Read perhaps ישועה which name is more frequent.

[120] Better הזאת.

[121] Better הבטיחנו.

The date is ליצירה בירושלים ד[ת]ת'ל'א' and the signatories are: Joseph the Reader b. Yefet the Teacher,[122] Mebasser b. Joseph, Yeshu'a b. Ḥayyim and Ebyatar Hakkohen b. Gaon . . . . . ., and finally אליהו הכהן גאון[123] גאון זצ"ל. Ramlah, the capital of Filastīn and the seat of the Fāṭimid governor (see I, 155), was already despoiled either by the Seljūḳs or by other Arab tribes acting in alliance with them, but Jerusalem evidently had not yet suffered. During this year it too fell into the hands of the invaders and most of its Jewish inhabitants fled together with the Gaon Elijah and the members of his school. Yet a number of Jews remained or returned after some time. We hear therefore of a collection made in Fusṭāṭ in 1085 on behalf of the Rabbanites, who remained in the Holy City (I, 192, note 1), and Ebyatar Hakkohen Gaon also pleaded for their support in a letter dated 1091 (II, 228).

Under Ebyatar the school continued its existence very precariously first by reason of the struggle with David b. Daniel, who established himself in Fusṭāṭ as Nasi and, as head of a local academy, endeavored to extend his authority also over the coastal cities of Palestine till now under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Gaonate. After David's overthrow in 1094 the school under Ebyatar, then situated at Tyre, had a short respite soon to be overwhelmed by the arrival of the Crusaders (I, 193-95). The great excitement that prevailed in the Orient as a result of the coming of the large armies from Western Europe to conquer Palestine for Christendom was also the cause of a great Messianic movement in Jewry. During the First Crusade the Messianic expectations took hold of the Jews of Byzantium and Ebyatar then living in Tripolis (Ṭarābulus), was solicited to give his opinion as to whether 'the signs of the Messiah' were genuine (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 28). Several years afterwards the excitement was not yet over. 'Obadya the Proselyte, a *Norman who joined Judaism in 1102*, reports of a Ḳaraite Messiah he had met in Banias in 1121. This whole Messianic movement is treated by

[122] Joseph is also a signatory of a document issued by the court of Daniel b. 'Azarya (II, 219) and is further mentioned as the representative of the Jerusalem congregation who travelled to Egypt to collect funds for the communal needs (II, 187).

[123] Supply the missing word בן.

me in full elsewhere.[124] It should only be added here that Barukh b. Isaac, who supplied this 'Obadya with a letter of introduction and from whom another epistle of 1094 was given in II, 225-6 (see I, 198-9), was not the Rabbi of the Jerusalem community prior to the Crusade but the spiritual head of the important community of Aleppo, as is evident from the new data given in the above-mentioned paper.

14. *Some Egyptian Celebrities (from about 1050 to 1150 C.E.).*

A few more data are to be added to our knowledge of the activities of the prominent Egyptian leaders discussed in the beginning of Chapter V (Vol. I, 202 ff.). Nahrai b. Nissim figures still more in several other letters to and from him preserved in the Cairo Collection and also in that of Philadelphia (see *J. Q. R., N. S.*, XIV, 533, No. 358, where after Yaḥya [Nahrai] should be supplied; p. 535, No. 370, where גוהראי should be read נהראי; p. 542, No. 411). His year of death was fixed in II, 247, as being between 1083–98. From a document in the Cairo Collection (A 2) it is evident that he was still alive in Iyyar 1407 Sel. (1096). It is stated there that the signatory entered עגד רבנו נהר [אי בר ר]ב נסים ז"ל פי יום אלאתנין אלתלאת מן שהר אייר שנת א'ת'ז'. The document itself was signed in Sivān of the same year at Fusṭāṭ by 'Ali Hakkohen b. Yaḥya (see about him I, 192, note 1).

With regard to the important and celebrated Nagid Meborak (I, 207 ff.) an interesting story is to be found in מדרש אלציאני by Abraham b. Solomon of Yemen who lived in the 15th century (cited by Mr. D. S. Sassoon, *Jewish Chronicle*, October 12, 1923, p. 11, from a Ms. in his possession). The author quotes a long passage from a commentary of Isaac b. Samuel the Spaniard (see about him I, 192; II, 231-3) wherein Isaac relates that he 'has seen a parrot in Miṣr (Cairo-Fusṭāṭ and not Egypt as translated by Mr. Sassoon) in the possession of our lord the Nagid Meborak (מ"ל), which had been presented to him by a Jew, that had arrived from the Indian dominions, and to which he had taught many verses.' Isaac heard the parrot recite 'the verse of שמע till אחד,

[124] See Mann, *Hattekufah*, vol. *XXIII*, pp. 243–61, and vol. *XXIV* (in print).

dwelling with emphasis on אחד, the whole verse of ה' הושיעה and also the whole verse of תהלה לדוד.'

The influential Yakin b. Netaneel (I, 213 ff.) seems to have been president of the Fusṭāṭ congregations (ראש הקהלות) already in the lifetime of Meborak Nagid and continued in this dignity under the latter's son Moses Nagid. This appears from a letter in the Cairo Collection (L. 298, paper, rubbed off) to him wherein greetings are extended to him. His father Netaneel is also styled ראש הקהלות, hence the dignity was continued from father to son. The writers, apparently by name Abū'l Surur and Abū Sa'ad conclude their epistle (on bottom of verso, reversed):

עבדהא אבו אלסרור ועבדהא אבוסעד יכרמוהא...באלסלאם אלהי ישראל יפארינו כן לנו בחיי הדרת הנגידות תכון לעד ויחיה לה[125] את הדרת אדונינו השר הנכבד משה חמדת הנשי[אות] ויושם לשם ולתהלה אמן.

Moses is evidently the son of the then officiating Nagid Meborak. He then held the title 'the delight of the Nesiut' but later on, on his advancement to the office of Nagid, we find him styled 'the banner of the Nesiut' (see II, 249, note 1, and 258, l.17; cf. about these titles I, 271-2).

In the important fragment with regard to the order of service in use at the Palestinian synagogue in Fusṭāṭ still before Sa'adya Gaon and continuing till after the time of Maimonides, there is also mentioned a Dayyan Ḥiyya whose name recurs too in a document of 1129 (I, 222). In Ms. Adler (No. 4020, fol. 5) there is found a letter from his widow appealing to the congregation for monetary aid. The lady on her own part was of a prominent family as the daughter of Solomon, styled השר הגדול בישראל, who (as suggested in I, 217, note 1, and 267) was the president of the Nagid's supreme court (אב בית דין הגדול). Her spokesman before the community is to be a certain Menaḥem (l.9) who is perhaps identical with Menaḥem b. Berakot mentioned in a document of 1146 (II, 276-7).

The letter reads as follows:

(Recto)

בשמ' רחמ'[126]

אודות שורותים אילו לפני הדרת הקהל הדרים

[125] The feminine refers to הדרת.

[126] = בשמא רחמנא.

בארץ מצרים ישמרם יושב במרום ויגן בעדם להודי[ע]
לכבודם כי באתי אני עזרת[127] כנ"ק מרינו ורבינו חיא הדיין
ור[זית] בתו של הדרת כנ"ק מרי' ורבי' שלמה השר הגדול ביש' נ"ע[128]
להודיע לכבודכם עבור הזמן וגלגולו על הגדולים
הגבורים בחכמתם להעמיד חילם שלא יחסר ויפחת
כל שכן מי שהיא חבויה בבטן האדמה וצריכה לכל
והנה שמתי דברים בפי כנ"ק מו"ר מנחם הירא שמי'[129]
אולי יישר לפני כבודכם לעזרו ולסעדו ולחזק ידו
להציל מה שיציל לפרנסתו מיד ה[גומל] עלי בין רב
למעט והאל יודע אלמלא דוחק הזמן ורוב עניות
לא הטרחתי עליו בשום דבר אף על פי שאינו נותן
לי כלום משלו ושלום רבותינו יגדל לעד מלפני שוכן
עד ואתם חזקו ואל [י]רפו וג' י"י עח לעמו יתן וג' [130]

(Address, verso)

מכפלת שלומם כבודת[131] רבינו חיא הדיין ריית

There follow 12 lines in Arabic script, difficult to decipher, which apparently deal with the subject-matter of the epistle.

With regard to the supreme court of the Nagid, mentioned before, its existence was for the first time pointed out in I, 266/7. It was parallel to the supreme courts of the Exilarch and the schools of Babylon and was presided over by a prominent Rabbi as Ab-Bet-Din similar to the 'Dayyan of the Gate' (דינא דבבא) in Babylon. This functionary, who seems to have had an official standing, was known to the authorities as 'Dayyān al-Yahūd' just as the Nagid went by the official title of 'Raīs al-Yahūd'. It is very likely that Shemarya b. Elḥanan was such an official and hence he is styled אב בית דין של כל ישראל. From the numerous data we learn of his great influence and importance within Egyptian Jewry. Other such presidents of the Nagid's court went by the titles השר האדיר, השר הגדול and the like. The local courts of the communities had to be authorised by the Nagid's court which had the right of supervision. This Ab-Bet-Din is expressly

[127] i. e. wife, Eve having been created as עזר כנגדו (Gen. 2^{18}).
[128] = בישראל נוחו עדן.
[129] = שמים.
[130] 2 Chron. 15^{7}, Ps. 29^{11}.
[131] i. e. wife, the expression being taken from Ps. 45^{14}.

referred to in a letter in the Adler Collection (No. 4046, fol. 4) from which the essential lines are excerpted here.

ויברכך אדונינו ברכות כפולות. מקובצות כלולות ויאר.... [פניו אליך] סלה. וישאירו לשום דרך מסלה.[132] וישוב אלהינו ברחמיו הרבים על אב בית דין... [די]ן אלהינו ידין. במשפט ובאמת ובדין. הם שני אצילי עולם יחיו שניהם. הם ובניהם. ..... ומאת צורינו המשאל[133] לקבל כל תחנה וכל תפלה בעדכם ובעד עמו ישראל. ושלום נגידנו ואב בתי דינינו וכל בני החבורה ירבה נצח סלה.

The existence of the office of Ab of the Nagid's court is thus now confirmed by MS. evidence.

15. The Gaonate in Egypt in the 12th Century.

After the closing of the academy of Palestine an attempt was made to establish a center of learning in the neighboring country of the Nile. Maṣliaḥ Hakkohen, the grandson of Elijah Gaon and the nephew of Ebyatar Gaon, moved from Ḥadrak in Syria, where his father Solomon presided over some sort of a school, to Fusṭāṭ and there was head of an academy from 1127-38 (see I, 196-7, 220 ff). Still previously, in the time of Ebyatar Gaon, David Nasi b. Daniel (b. 'Azarya) attempted to found a school in Fusṭāṭ but with his overthrow in 1094 his enterprise also failed. After Maṣliaḥ we hear of the Egyptian Geonim Abraham b. Mazhir, Netaneel Hallevi and his brother Sar Shalom Hallevi (I, 238).

To the data concerning Netaneel (collected in II, 292 ff.) there should be added the document of Netaneel's appointment found in Ms. Adler No. 4011. In *M. G. W. J.* (XLI, 425) Mr. Adler cited only a few lines from it. We give here the full text.

(Recto)

. . . . . אריא התורה
. . . . . נו צבי עדינו
קצינינו גאונינו אחינו נתנאל ראש הישיבה
שלגולה יאמירהו[134] אלהינו ויגבירהו. ומקדש
ישלח עזריהו. וילכו יונקותיו. ויהי כזית

[132] See Jer. 31[20] and Ḳimḥi's comment:
שיחי לבך שתזכרי הדרך שהלכת בה לגלות כי באותה הדרך תשובי, וכל זה דרך משל ונחמה
Here too the meaning is that God preserve him in life to see the Redemption. Perhaps read לשוב דרך מסלה.

[133] Request, see Vol. II, Glossary, s. v.

[134] The expression is taken from Dt. 26[18], וה' האמירך. Ibn 'Ezra, a. l., comments מלשון גדולה. Here too it is used in this meaning, viz. 'may our God

הוד דליותיו. ומטה עזו ומשענותיו.
המה ינחמו עדת מקהלותיו. ורעה[135] הכרמל
והבשן בתוקף אמונותיו. ודעת חכמותיו. יראת יי'
היא אוצרותיו. עומדת לעד לו ולדורותיו.

בן הדרת מרינו ורבינו משה הלוי הראש
המובהק הגאון הגדול מנוחתו כבוד את
אלהיו אשר בהגיע הדבר אל מושבינו
זהול זחלנו ומשפטי אלהינו קבלנו

(Verso)

ועל משמרתי [נו]. . . . . .
תקוה ושארית והנה. . . מ. . . ש...
קורא ומכריז הנה זה עומד אחר כתלינו
משגיח מחלונות אורה. מציץ מחרכי איום
ונורא. אמור אמרנו. הננו הננו. ועל צור
מעזנו בטחנו. ועל חסדיו נשענו. ושמנו
המצנפת. והפאר העודפת. על ראש קצינינו

אחינו ראש הישיבה שלנולה וקראנוהו
בשם קדוש במעמד שרינו וגבירינו וכל
הקהל עונים אמן כי בארשת שפתינו
סמכנוהו. וכאשר בלבבינו תמכנוהו.
והוד והדר עטרנוהו. ומהוד המלוכה[136] האפדנוהו.
למען ישמעו כל עדת בני ישראל והוא בית
דין הגדול בכל מדינות ארץ מצרים

Here the fragment breaks off. It is difficult to ascertain who the person was that honored Netaneel 'with a holy name' and adorned him 'with glory and splendor', declaring him to be '(the head of) the supreme court in all the cities of Egypt.' Of course the nearest thought is to identify him with the Nagid then in office. However it is doubtful whether there was at all a Nagid in Egypt after the demise of the celebrated Samuel b. Ḥananya (about 1159) till the time of Abraham Maimuni owing to the communal conflict brought about by the intrigues of Zuṭa (I, 236 ff.). Indeed the documents of this period make no mention of a Nagid.

It appears to me that this letter emanates from the well-

magnify him'. But possibly our expression here is influenced from the Arabic "amara", to rule (cf. Amīr, ruler, commander). Hence יאמירהו is equivalent to ימשילהו.

[135] Better ירעה or וירעה.

[136] Based on Talmudic saying: מאן מלכי? מלכי רבנן.

known Gaon of Bagdad, Samuel b. 'Ali. As suggested in II, 295 (cf. I, 234, note 3) Moses Hallevi was Gaon at Damascus. Of his three sons the first, 'Azarya, succeeded him as Gaon having beside him his brother Sar Shalom as Ab, whereas the third son Netaneel moved to Fusṭāṭ where he presided over the local school (about 1160-70). After Netaneel's demise Sar Shalom flourished in Fusṭāṭ going by the title of ראש ישיבת ארץ הצבי, ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב because of his having been previously Ab of the Damascus school that was then called "the school of Palestine" (הישיבה של ארץ ישראל as reported by Benjamin of Tudela). Now Petaḥya of Ratisbon (*Itinerary*, ed. Grünhut, 28) met in Damascus a Gaon Ezra (either a son of 'Azarya, or the names עזריה and עזרא became confused), who held a diploma from the Gaon Samuel b. 'Ali (סמכו רבי שמואל ראש ישיבה מבבל). This proves the prestige of Samuel with regard to the Damascus school. As was shown elsewhere,[137] it extended even to Egypt. Hence it is likely that Netaneel turned to Samuel with the request to uphold him in his new office in Fusṭāṭ by a letter of recommendation and approval. This request seems to be indicated at the end of recto where it is stated "that when the thing reached our seat (מושב=הישיבה),[138] we were greatly impressed and accepted the providential decrees" (i. e. that Netaneel be confirmed as Gaon of Egypt). Samuel acceeded to the request and proclaimed Netaneel "by the holy name in the presence of our officials and leaders" the whole audience giving their confirmation by responding with Amen. Netaneel was able to maintain himself for a few years and was succeeded by his brother Sar Shalom as Gaon for more than two decades.

[137] See Mann, הצופה לחכמת ישראל, VI, 106 ff. To the Genizah letters from Samuel b. 'Ali, cited there, there should be added the following fragment in the Adler Collection (No. 4011, paper, verso blank):

שמואל הלוי ראש הישיבה של גולה
[ביר'] עלי [ר]אש הישיבה של גולה זצ"ל
אחינו אהובינו יקירנו בעלי בריתינו עדת הקודש שומרי משמרת
התורה אוהבי מצוה נוצרי [תושיה הק]הל היקר אשר [נ].. רין בראשם
יקירנו חשובנו נכבד[נו]...מו"ר כלף ראש הקהל זקן העדה
.....ה והזקן היקר מ' עמרם בן חסין והמלמד מ' [שמע]יה

No more is preserved.

[138] See II, p. 419.

From the documents collected in II, 294, we were able to trace his period of activity from 1170 until 1188. Another document in the Cairo Collection (A. 133, piece of vellum), dated 1505 Sel. (1193-4) at Fusṭāṭ, was issued by authority of the Gaon Sar Shalom Hallevi. At the same time there flourished in Fusṭāṭ Maimonides enriching Jewry and Judaism with his immortal works. The relationship between the former, bearing a pompous title but without any literary achievement, and the latter is obscure. From his caustic remark in his Mishnah Commentary (see I, 239, note 1) we learn how little Maimonides thought of these dignitaries in Palestine and in Egypt, who held titles and degrees in connection with a Gaonate which in reality lost all intrinsic importance. After Sar Shalom we hear indeed of no further continuance of the Gaonate in Egypt.

16. Some Egyptian Celebrities in the 13th Century.

Already during the 12th century Egyptian Jewry became more and more dependent on abroad for its spiritual guides. Several scholars from Christian and Mohammedan countries, besides the illustrious Maimonides, found scope in Egypt as Dayyanim of the communities (see I, 230-2). This situation obtained also in the 13th century. Men who realized the state of affairs would try and persuade scholars, who happened to visit the country, to remain and help raising the intellectual level of the people. In Ms. Adler, No. 2557, we have a letter in illustration of this, dated 1214, ten years after the death of Maimonides. The beginning of the epistle is missing which evidently was to be found on another leaf. The names of the writer and his correspondent are not mentioned. Also the prominent scholar, the subject of the letter, is unknown to me.

(Fol. 1, recto; verso blank)

יבוא מורה צדק. . . . . .
עצרו כחי ובעכובם הוציאו רוחי
ועתה אדני אל ירך לבבך כי את
אשר
יאהב י"י יוכיח[139] והאל ישמיענו
בשלום

(Fol. 2, recto; verso blank)

חכם כמותו ומי הוא זה שיגיע
בחכמה ובתבונה למעלתו איש אש[ר]
רוח בו והתורה ערוכה בלבו ולפיכך
ראוי להסיר דאגתו ולעשות חפצו
ומגמתו

[139] Prov. 3[12].

הדרתך ויוסיף ימים על ימיך ושנים
על שנותיך וכן יהי רצון ואודיע
להדרתו
כי הגיע אלינו הרב הנכבד החכם
הגדול
עמוד התלמוד כג"ק מרנו ורבנו
שמואל
ירום הודו והודיע חסד כבודך עליו
ואהבת הדרתך אליו ושמחתי בדבר
זה
כמוצא שלל רב וירדה שמועה זו על
לבי כמים קרים ביום שרב זו היא
דרך עבדי האל וזו היא מדת חכמי
ישראל
ובזה יגדל כבוד התורה וירבה הודה
והדרה ושאלנו אותו להתנהג בתוך
עמנו[140] ולהיות בחבורת עמנו וקשה
בעיניו שאלתנו ונאמר לו אל נא
תעזוב
אותנו ויאמר לא כי אם אל ארצי ואל
מולדתי אלך[141] וסוף דבר אבקש
מהדרתך
להיות ארוחתו ממך מעדתך כבוד[142]
זה החכם ש"צ והוא אומר שאינו
מתעכב
אלא הולך וכבודך ידע כי לא ירבה
הודה
של תורה אלא ברוב ת"ח ומתי ימצא

ולנהל אותו בכבוד ואל תצא זו
המרגלית
מן העיר והיה לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל
שיבה[143] וכתבו יגיע אל הצבור
בעינינו[144]
אבל הדבר תלוי בראשם זקנם
וישישם
להיות עזר ומסיר התלונות מעליו
ואם לא יישר בעיניו לישב בארצותינו
והבדילו עוונות הדור בינותינו אל יצא
אלא בכבוד הראוי לו והשם יודע לא
ראיתי אותו בזו הפעם אלא באהבה
מרובה להדרתך ומהפך בזכותך
ומשבח
אותך ולפיכך ראוי לך שתגמלהו כל
טובה ואל תאחר אגרותיו[145]
להודיעני
שלומותיך ולולי שאני מתירא שמא
יחרה עליך הייתי משגר אליך נירות
שתכתוב בהם שמא הגיר יקר א[צלך]
והאל ירבה שלום
הדרתך ושלום
מעלתך
וכן יהי רצון
כו' אדר א'ת'ק'כ'ה' ישע יקרב

Among the Egyptian scholars at the beginning of the 13th century we have Joseph Rosh Hasseder b. Jacob Rosh de Rabbanin (II, 310-13). The latter was from Babylon. His son Joseph

[140] Here עַמֵּנוּ, but in the next phrase עַמָּנוּ, hence read בחבורה.

[141] Cf. Num. $10^{33.30}$.

[142] כְּבוּד the honoring of.

[143] Cf. Ruth 4^{15}.

[144] = בְּעִנְיָנוֹ, in his matter.

[145] Read אגרותיך.

left behind a great deal of writing but his literary work was chiefly one of compilation. A torn leaf in the Cairo Collection (E 15, MC) contains the following title page:

(1) פרק מאימתי [קורא]ין (2) מן פירוש אלתלמוד (3) שחיבר מרינו ורבינו ואדונינו יוסף הרב הגדול ראש (4) הסדר ירום הודו ויגדל כבודו חמוד מרנו ורבנו (5) ואדוננו יעקב הרב המובהק רא[ש] בי רבנן זצ"ל.

There is much scribbling on all sides and the nature of this commentary on the first chapter of Berakot cannot be ascertained.

Anaṭoli b. Joseph, evidently a native of Lunel in the Provence, who settled in Alexandria where he became Dayyan, corresponded with Maimonides soon after his arrival in Alexandria. He survived Maimonides and seems to have been regarded as a Talmudic authority (I, 247-48; II, 324-6). Abraham Maimuni was very friendly with Anaṭoli as is evident from the following address of an epistle in the Cairo Collection (L 48, paper, left hand side torn, verso blank):

(1) הנה אל ישועתי אבטח וכול' 146 (2) אל הדרת יקרת תפארת כנ"ק [מרנו] (3) ורבנו אנטולי חכם דורנו מ... (4) הרב המובהק החכם החזק (5)האהוב הנחמד [ישמרו] (6) יוצרו ויאריך ימיו [ויתמיד] (7) שלומותיו וטובותיו בר' יוסף הרב הנכבד (8) החכם הגדול ז"ל מאת דורש [שלומו] (9) הידוע באהבתו שומר בריתו בט[ח] 10 () אברהם ברבי משה זצ"ל

Another respected Dayyan was Yeḥiel b. Elyaḳim of Aleppo (see I, 239-41; II, 301-06). A document in the Cairo Collection (A. 111), dated Tammuz 1531 Sel. (1220) at Fusṭāṭ under the authority of the Nagid (i. e. Abraham Maimuni) is signed by Yeḥiel b. Elyaḳim הצובי and Solomon b. Joseph. Likewise another document (A. 72) of Elul 1535 Sel. (1224) is signed by him and Elijah b. Zekharya. The latter is a signatory of another document of 1232 (II, 382, bottom).

17. *Palestine in the 13th Century.*

After the destruction of the so-called kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin (in 1187-92) there took place an influx of Jews to Palestine and especially to Jerusalem. The official representative of the new Jewish settlement in the Holy Land seems to have been a Nagid known as נגיד ארץ ישראל ויהודה (I, 257). Ḥarizi found in Jerusalem a community of French Jews, another one of the

146 Is. 12².

former residents of Ashḳelon[147] and also a third one having been recruited from newcomers that hailed from the Maghreb (see I, 240, note 1). An important community of French Jews resided in Akko (II, 370-3, 383). An epistle from a certain Yeḥiel b. Isaac concerning communal matters of Jerusalem was given in II, 304, no. 3 (cf. I, 141, note, end). A fragment of another letter from him (Ms. Adler, No. 3788, fol. 1) proves that he hailed from France. He informs his correspondent of his safe arrival at the Holy City. Yeḥiel was evidently a Talmudic authority. The fragment contains a responsum with the following conclusion (l.5 from bottom):

והודעתי לכבודך כי באנו שלמים בשלם עיר הקדש ירושלם ושלום לך ולתורתך ולביתך ולכל אשר לך שלום כנפש החתום יחיאל בר' יצחק ז'ל'ה'ה' הצרפתי ירושל[ם]

Another letter in the Cairo Collection (L. 14, paper, damaged), which is evidently in Yeḥiel's handwriting, informs us of the difficulties he encountered in his new place of residence.

(Fol. 1, recto)

. . . . . .
את קולך שמעתי ואירא.
כבודך מרבה המשרה
מצורתו פרוסה בית הבח[י]רה[148]
גזור אומר ונקים הגזיר [ה].
כי על דרכך נגה אור ה[תורה].
על ידיך יובילו שי למורא.
מי הר גדול לפניך משרא[149].
מי ירים בלעדיו זוכרא[150] וכלי נדרא
על הר ציון תדרוך פורה.
כי על פיך אנו חיין בתורה.
ומימיך אנו שותין[151] לא מי מערה.
אך מים חיים במקום מה נורא[152].
אין הדור יתום בתורתך ברורה

(Verso)

אללי לי כי הייתי כאפסי קיץ.
בירושלים
בלי חייץ. אין אשכול לאכול בכורה
[אות]ה נפשי[152a]. אל רבינו הרב
מנחם אשר
. . . . . לפני כבודי[153] לחשי. ולא

[147] See about this community I, 170-1.

[148] Apparently the person addressed wielded authority over the community in Jerusalem.

[149] Cf. Zech. 4[2]. Here in the meaning of scholar. 'What scholar can dare to permit (a thing without your consent)?'

[150] Better דוכרא, i. e. a Shofar from a ram by which the ban is proclaimed.

[151] Cf. Ḥag. 3[a].

[152] i. e. Jerusalem where Jacob is supposed to have seen his vision of the heavenly ladder (Gen. 28[17] and Rashi a. l.)

[152a] Micah 7[1].

[153] Read perhaps כבודו, i. e. R. Menaḥem will place before you ('his honor') my request (לחשי).

. . . ה במכתיר רשע צדיק ממנו[154]
[ה]לא זכור א[זכרה את אשר נעשה על
פי הדברים אשר כתב [אד]ונינו רבינו בכתב
ה. . . ן [ע]שינו לזה שלמה הדין ואין לנו
עדים אחרים אילא כבודך שאתה שואל

עתה מי העיד על זה ההקדש וכבודך
העיד שאילו החמשים כסף להקדש
ויעשו ר' יצחק ושלמה מהם מקוה כן
כתב כבודך והביאו לבית דין כתבך
והשיב לנו אכלתה אשתו ולא אמר
הוא שהלו[ו]תם לה משלך ולא כבודך

(Fol. 2, recto)

עוד אודיע לרבינו זה חמר גרם[155]
שבטלנו הדרשא שבכל שבת
ושבת על ידו ואין מי יורה להם
דיעה איסור והיתר ואין [מי י]בין
שמועה להם כי אנחנו יושבין ולומדים
בביתנו והם[156] יושבים ללא תורה וללא
כהן מורה. אך כהני ממרא
עד יערה רוח ממרום הבורא.
עד ישקיף הצור וירא.
ויפנה פריצי עמינו מעירנו מעיר
הקדש מירושלים וינערו רשעים
ממנה. מעיר חנה שוכן מעונה.
ובכל יום עושים מחלקות גם בבית הכנסת ועוברין
על החרם ששמנו שלא יעשו מחלוקת בבית הכנסת

והמכשלה הזאת תחת יד שלמה ממשרקה[157] ומולי[כי]ן
זה את זה אל השליש ומכה אותם ועונש אותם כסדום
בעבור שפרקו עול שמים מעליהם הכביד מש. . .

(Verso)

ועליהם אני קורא ויבאו כל שרי מלך בבל
וישבו בשער התוך[158] וא"ר יוחנן מקום
שמחתכין בו הלכות דא'[159] אינשי באתרא דמ[י]חלא זיניה קובלא רעיא
ק[ולת]יה תלא [ו]מושלם מקשיב עולה.
כל י[ום] מוצא עליהם עילא.
ואבחן בריוח והצלה. בזכות נורא עלילה.
בכל יום בשערי רחמים בתפלה.

The reference in our letter to the donation of 50 silver pieces (Dirhems) by the correspondent for the purpose of erecting a

[154] Cf. Hab. 1[4].

[155] A pun on Gen. 49[14]. Here: 'this fool caused'.

[156] From here up to the end of l. 13 inserted in the margin and between the lines.

[157] A pun on שמלה ממשרקה (Gen. 36[36]).

[158] Jer. 39[3]. Cf. Sanh. 103a and parallels.

[159] = דאמרי.

Miḳvah shows that it has a bearing on the epistle in II, 304, No. 3, where too this matter is alluded to. Evidently a certain Solomon, who acted as Dayyan, spent the donation for his own purposes instead of erecting the Miḳvah. Between him and Yeḥiel very little love was lost. The latter had to stop delivering his sermons on every Saturday and instructing the people. He draws a sad picture of the squabbles going on at the synagogue during the services in disregard of the ban he had proclaimed against such a practice. Instead of bringing their lawsuits to the Jewish court, the people summon each other to the governor who employs forcible methods in adjusting their cases. Altogether our Yeḥiel is very discontented with conditions in the Holy City. But it is difficult to ascertain how far justified he was in denouncing the state of affairs prevailing there. His correspondent, apparently residing in Cairo-Fusṭāṭ, must have been a prominent Rabbinic authority but his identity is unknown. There is a reference to a R. Menaḥem (fol. 1, verso, l.3) who may perhaps be identical with the Dayyan Menaḥem b. Isaac whom Ḥarizi met in the capital of Egypt (see I, 247, note 1).

18. *Yemen.*

Very little is known of the Jewry in southern Arabia during the Gaonic period. Indeed Neubauer (*J. Q. R.*, III, 606) speaks of "a blank as to any mention of the Jews of Yemen between the sixth century (after the defeat of the (Jewish) king (Yusuf) Dhoo Nowās) and the letter addressed by Maimonides at about the year 1160 (?, more likely 1170 after Maimonides settled in Egypt) to the chief of the congregation of Yemen, Jacob b. Netaneel al-Fayyumi" (viz. the well-known *Iggeret Teman*). It is only natural that the Genizah should have preserved documents testifying to the relations between the Jews of Egypt with their coreligionists in Yemen even before the time of Maimonides.[159a]

[159a] Since these lines had been written fragments of letters from the Babylonian Geonim to the Jews of Yemen have been published by Lewin (גניזי קדם, III, 1925, pp. 14-23) and still more are to be edited by Dr. A. Marx. We gather from them that the Jews of Yemen frequently sent their donations for the upkeep of the ancient centers of learning in Babylon. The representatives of the Babylonian schools in Yemen were given the honorary title of Alluf as was the case with so many other leaders of the various countries who

In II, 366-7, an interesting letter of 1133 from Jacob b. Salim of Aden to a Dayyan of Cairo-Fusṭāṭ was published. A Genizah fragment in the Strassbourg Collection (No. 4077/78, fol. 31) contains a letter of thanks for condolence from Ḥalfon b. Maṣmūn (מצמון) to Ezekiel Ḥazzān b. Natan. The letter is dated Aden, Marḥeshvan 1464 Sel. (1152 C. E.).

With regard to other places of Yemen there exists a letter in the Cairo Collection (L. 296, paper, top and bottom torn) from the community of די גבלה which consisted of Jews that hailed from Ṣana'a (צנעא), Shib'ān (שבעאן) and אלתארי. The epistle is evidently addressed to the congregation of Cairo-Fusṭāṭ and, judging from the appearance of the Ms., belongs to the 11th century. Reference is made to a previous letter from the correspondents. We give here the essential lines:

(Recto)

ירא[160]

[י]שאו רבותינו פארי קהלותינו רו[ב ברכה ושלום מעושה]

[ב]מרומיו שלום ומעולים ויורדים[161]. . . . . .

[ו]מן התורה הקדושה אשר היא תורת יקותיאל ומן התורה[162] ואחר כך מאחיכם ואהוביכם ושמשיכם ומתפארים בכם כלל הקהל אשר הם ממדינת צנעא הדרים במדינת די גבלה וכלל הקהל אשר הם מעיר שבעאן ואלתארי הדרים בדי גבלה גדוליהם וקטניהם ישישיהם ובחוריהם כביריהם ונעוריהם דעו רבותינו ישמרכם אלהינו כי שמשיכם ואוהביכם שלום מכל אברינו ומכל עברינו כיד אלהינו הטובה עלינו ורחמיו אשר עזרונו ולא עזבונו על כן נודה ונפארה שמו שנ' אודך י"י בקהל וג' וג' יהי שמו מרומם על ברכה ותהלה[163] הגיע כתב רבותינו הטוב ושמחנו בו כשמחת בקציר וכאשר ינילו בחלקם שלל וכמוצא שלל רב

There follow several lines in Arabic. Reference is made to a

had relations with the Geonim. These fragments evidently date from the second half of the 10th century. The communities mentioned are those of Aden, Ṣana'a and several others.

[160] Read perhaps ירחמנו אלהינו סלה=ירא"ם.

[161] i. e. angels (Gen. 28[12]).

[162] These 2 words should be deleted as being superfluous.

[163] Ps. 35[18], Neh. 9[5] incorrectly quoted.

letter which reached כג"ק מרנו ורבנו אד[ו]ננו מצמון שר הע[דה] ראש הקהלות בן כג"ק מרנו ורבנו יפת[163a].

This letter seems to have emanated מן רב... ורב אבולפרג ורב חסן הכהנים אולאד חיי [אלשיך] מרנ' ורבנא יעק[ב] הכהן נ"ע

The place די גבלה (גבלה=Jiblah) is probably identical with the present-day Ibb to the south of Ṣana'a. The fact that this community consisted of a section that hailed from Ṣana'a and of another one from Shib'an (probably identical with Shib'am situated at a considerable distance east of Ṣana'a) and אלתארי (a place I could not identify) tends to show that there was a considerable shifting of Jewish settlements in Yemen, probably due to persecutions or perhaps to other obscure political factors.

The Genizah fragments so far available inform us thus of Jewish communities in Aden, אלגיוהומא, Di Jiblah, Ṣana'a, Shib'an and אלתארי.

19. *The last Negidim of Egypt.*

In conclusion of this supplement a number of new data are given with regard to the last Negidim in the country of the Nile. The office of Nagid commenced with the conquest of the country by the Fāṭimids in 969 and the first holder of the dignity was Palṭiel (I, 251 ff.). Another conquest, viz. that of the Turks under Sultan Selim in 1517, was the cause of the disappearance of this office. Evidently the Turkish government aimed at centralising all the matters pertaining to the Jews all over the Empire at Constantinople, the capital. There the Ḥakham Bashi, the Chief Rabbi of all the communities in the Turkish Empire, acted as the chief representative and official spokesman of the Jews. The last two Negidim in Egypt were Natan Hakkohen Shulal (שולל or

[163a] This dignitary is evidently identical with the person in whose honor a certain Abraham of Maghreb composed a poem of eulogy (published by Dr. Marmorstein, *M. G. W. J.*, L. 600 ff., from the Cambridge Collection). The fragment has been badly edited and confusedly commented upon. That the author was a Spaniard and a partisan of R. Ḥanok b. Moses in his conflict with Joseph ibn Abitur (hence before 1014!) has been deduced by Dr. Marmorstein from ll.32-34 of the poem, ממורח אלי מערב, עדי קריח מלך רב, יצא שם לאדוני כבן מגש חנוך הרב, and has been rightly rejected by *Brody*, ibid., LII, 246-47. But this impossible version reads in the Ms. כבן מגש חניך הרב, viz. 'from East to West, even unto Jerusalem, my lord has such fame as that of (Joseph) ibn Migāsh, the

שולאל) and his nephew Isaac Hakkohen.[163b] The Negidut was hereditary in the family of Maimonides during five generations, commencing with Abraham Maimuni, who flourished as Nagid from 1205 until his death in 1237 and who was succeeded by his son David. In 1292, when the latter was still alive, his son Abraham went already by the name of Nagid and actually continued to occupy the office after David's demise in 1310. Abraham's son, Joshu'a, was also Nagid till 1355, when he departed this life. The last Nagid from the family of Maimonides was Joshu'a's son, David, who resided in Aleppo in 1379. Apparently David stayed in Syria for several years. The cause of his having left Egypt is unknown but it may be surmised that it was due to political reasons. Be that as it may, we hear of no other Nagid from his family.[164] When 'Obadya of Bertinoro visited Egypt in 1488 Nathan Hakkohen Shulal was already Nagid.[165] We have thus to ascertain the names of the Nigidim during a little more than a century, from the time of David Maimuni till the period of Natan Hakkohen.

In Bodl. 2878[21] there is found a business letter to אלשיך אלנגיד Moses b. Elazar, who apparently flourished within this century. In 1481, when the traveller Meshullam of Voltera visited Egypt, the Nagid was Solomon b. Joseph. The latter, Joseph, was also Nagid besides his capacity of court physician.[166] It is therefore

disciple of Alfasi." Hence the poem was written in the first half of the 12th century. Maṣmūn b. Yefet was evidently the leader of Yemen Jewry and went by the title ראש הקהלות (so also in the poem, l. 16). In the last lines of the poem reference is made to his son Ḥalfon (already styled השר) and to his younger child בנדאר. Very likely the above letter of 1152 from Ḥalfon b. Maṣmūn emanates from the elder son of this dignitary. The date fits in very well.

[163b] See Graetz, Hebrew translation, Vol. 7, Note I. See however Rosanas, דברי ימי ישראל בתונרמה, I, 125–26.

[164] See I, 248-9; II, 326-31.

[165] See his letter to his father (in *Jahrbuch f. die Geschichte der Juden u. des Judenthums*, III, 209).

[166] See his statement (in Luncz, *Jerusalem*, I, Hebrew part, 185, botom): והמלך שם על היהודים ועל הקראים ועל השומרונים אדם נכבד וטוב מדע שמו ר' שלמה ב"ר יוסף נ"ע, והוא עשיר ונכבד מאד והוא מהארצות ההם, ואביו היה גם כן נגיד, והיה רופא מהסולדאנו. וממשלת הנגיד היא בכל מדינות המלך ובכל מלכותו על היהודים, הן בדיני נפשות הן בדיני ממונות, ועל דברו אין להשיב. ויש לו ד' שופטים...ויש לו בית הסהר.
The statement that the Nagid had authority not only over the Rabbanites

evident that Natan Hakkohen succeeded this Solomon, who was already among the departed in 1486, because a document in the Cambridge Collection (T.-S. 13 J 4[16]), dated 1797 Sel. at Cairo, mentions a Yeshu'a b. Joseph Nagid and the widow of Solomon Nagid.

Another fragment in Cambridge (I have omitted to copy the number of the Ms.) contains a letter to the Nagid Natan with regard to a Jew, who brought a quantity of cheese to Cairo pretending to have bought it from Jews (and hence it was fit for consumption by Jews). Later on his statement was found out to have been false and Joseph Nagid imposed a fine on him (העניש אותו מה"ר יוסף הנגיד זצ"ל). The case therefore happened during the period of office of Natan's predecessor but one and it would tend to show that his immediate predecessor, Solomon b. Joseph, did not occupy the dignity for a considerable time. The letter begins as follows:

...בש ר"ח וח"ל[167] משתחוה אפים ארצה מול מעלת המעלה ראש הגולה בחיר עם סגלה נגיד הנגידים... מה"ר נתן יצ"ו[168] הצעיר בעבדיו צדקה ניס

Finally we give here a letter from the Adler Collection (No. 4101, fol. 5, paper, torn at the end and damaged) wherein there are mentioned this Ṣedaḳah ניס, the writer of the previous epistle, and also Isaac Shulal, the last Egyptian Nagid. The writer evidently owned a number of Hebrew books. He left Cairo for Rosetta (רשיד) wherefrom he corresponded with one of his friends in Cairo with regard to his affairs. Interesting is the reference to לקוטים על זוהר (verso, l.11). Whether they are identical with the work זוהר חדש or תקוני זוהר is obscure. By 'The Work' (החבור verso, l. 20) no doubt Maimonides' Mishneh Torah is meant.

but also over the Ḳaraites and the Samaritans, who lived in Egypt, is borne out by al-Ḳalḳashandi, who reports that the practice was for the Raīs al-Yahūd (the Arabic title of the Nagid) always to belong to the Rabbanites, though his authority extended also over the other two sects in Judaism (see I, 266-6). The Nagid Joseph is evidently identical with Joseph b. Kha'ifa who figured in the dispute with the Ḳaraites in 1465 concerning the religious status of a group of Jews that had hailed from Toledo and settled in Cairo (see the interesting account published by Dr. Hirschfeld, *Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, p. 86).

[167] = בשמא רחמנא but the abbreviation וח"ל is not clear to me.

[168] = ישמרו צורו.

The commentaries on Psalms and Job are perhaps those of Rashi. The writer was desirous of acquiring the Targum of R. Joseph (verso, ll. 9-10) by which name, as is well-known, there went the Targum on the Hagiographa. Perhaps the writer was a professional copyist. Hence his interest in copies of books which he would multiply by his labors for sale.

(Recto)

מע. מע'
אלוף העדה ומעיניו.[169] תורת אלהיו בלבו
לא זזה מבין עיניו. חרד ליום שעוברים
בו בני אדם כבני מרון.[170] הוא מתלמידיו
של אהרן. במעשים נאים ומשובחים וכשר [ון].
על מצחו תמיד העגוה והיראה לזכרון.
יהי אלהיך בעזריך. ויאר פניו אליך המקיף
בפרשי סהריך.[171] ואל תהי תפלת הדיוט
קלה בעיניך[172] אחי ואהובי דרישת שלום נפשך
היקרה בעיני אלהים ואדם כשעור הראוי

10 למע'[173] תורתך ב[א]תי להגיד תשוקתי
הגדולה למע' חסדך עלי יגמלך השם חן וחסד ורחמים ועתה אדוני וקציני הגיעני כתבך הבהיר כשמש מזהיר ושמחתי בו שמחה שלימה שכבודך וכל
15 אנשיך בגדר הבריאות כן יהיה תמיד שנשמע עליכם רוב שלומות וכבר שמענו שהגיע כר'[174] יצחק שולל לרשיד[175] ואני כבר
כתבתי למע'[176] שני כתבים קודם לזה אחד
מרשיד עם הספן ואחר על ידי כר' צדק [ה]
20 ניס יצ'ו ובקשתי ממעלתך שישלח לי רבי [ע] אמה בגד מצ[רי] מזה המין שבכתב
וזה העין לא פחות ולא יתר וכבר שלחתי

[169] About the expression עין הערה as communal leader see II, 422.

[170] Viz. the Day of Judgement (Cf. R. H. 1[2]).

[171] Read perhaps מְפָרְשֵׁי (cf. Job 36[29]). But the present reading can be explained thus: (God) who encircles (the universe) in company of the angels, who are styled in a Paiṭanic way 'the horsemen of thy planets'. But perhaps the winds are meant.

[172] Cf. Ber. 7a where the reading is ברכת הדיוט.

[173] = למעלת.

[174] = כבוד רבנו.

[175] Rosetta, in Egypt.

[176] = למעלתך.

בכתב אחר חתיכה אחרת מזאת שו...
תשלחנה לי במהרה עם הקודם כי אני צריך
אליה קודם המועד וגם ה' ארטאל[177] תלוה
. . . . כר' דוד הסופר ובנו כר' מאיר בעד
. . . . . [ת]הלים אני שלחתי ל[ו]
. . . . . להעתיק ל. . . .
. . . . בחור לס' קנא בחסדך
. . . . [לפ]ניהם שירצה אחד מהם
. . . . . שכר כמ"ו
. . . . מקצת אבי. . . . שלהם

(Verso)

. . . . . ממנו ממני. . . .
. . . . . ובחסדך. . . .
ולא עשו שער וגם בזה היום באה ספינה
טעונה צמוקים ושעוה ועורות וכשיורידו
ויתחילו למכור נודיע לכבודך ותפרוש שלומי
לאחי ר' מאיר ואביו ר' דוד הסופר יצ"ו וגם כר'
מנשה יצ"ו חתנך וכל הנלוים אליך לשרתך
. . . . . הכתל ששמענו מאת
. . . . . .
. . . . . [א]ם יוכל לתהלים ה. . .
. . . אם לא וגם תודיעני אם . . . . . כתיב שיש לו בקלף
. . . . תראה אם הוא מרחיב פירוש בתרגום שלו הראהו לר' צדקה אם תרגום
רב יוסף התפשר עמו והקנהו לי ותודיעני
אם יכולתו להוציא הלקוטים של זוהר שאמר
לי ממי שהוא תחת ידו אם לאו וגם תודיעני
אם גבה כבודך הנשאר מהדמים שלאשתיואן
מהיהודי שהוא עם השמש ותודיע למרדוך
שלא יתן לאשת השמש בעד אשתירק י"ו
נצף[178] לא יותר ותודיעני אם לקח כר' אברהם
אלשויך הנשאר מן אלאשתיואן אם לא ובחסדך
תסייע מרדוך לקחת מר' ישועה נשאררי
או פרח זהב או הספרים ותודיעהו
שיקח מר' צדקה ד' ספרים מהחבור
וימכור שאר הספרים שיש לו משלי וגם
כבודך לא תמכור פי' תלים פחות מג' דוכה[179]
וג' ספרים מהחבור דוכה לא פחות [ו]פי'
איוב עשרה מא'[180] או ט' ותזכר המזכרת[181]

[177] Plur. of 'raṭl'.
[178] 'Naṣf', a half coin.
[179] Evidently the name of a coin.
[180] This abbreviation is not clear to me. It is evidently the name of a coin.
[181] מַזְכֶּרֶת here evidently in the meaning of a memorandum book.

25 שהנחתי למעלתך תעשה מה שיש בה למע' שבאה ספינה מעונה ועדין לא
כפי היכולת ומענין הצמוקים כבר הוריד [וה]
כתבתי
כנפשך החשובה המליאה תורה ומצות וכשרון וכנפש הנרצע לעבדותך הכותב
בסדר קדושים תהיו כ'ג' לספירה שנת ונתתי [מ]טר אר[צך][182]

[182] The dots on the last 3 words are no longer visible, hence the indicated year cannot be ascertained. There follows the address of which there are still legible the words סעיד (=למורנו אלחבר) אחתב למו' אלח'. The ב can also be read as ה or ח. If the Sel. year is indicated here, it would correspond to either 1491, 1494 or 1497 C. E.

Additional Note to Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume, pp. 235—37.

The letter from Ṣemaḥ Gaon to Elḥanan b. Shemarya has now been published by Shapira (גנזי קדם, ed. Lewin, III, p. 9 ff) in a fuller and more correct text. I have also at last obtained a photograph of the fragment which enables me to compare it with Shapira's readings. The letter extends over recto of a long folio leaf whereas the address is given on the top of verso in Hebrew and in Arabic scripts. The blank of verso was later on filled out with a long Talmudic passage in different handwriting and certainly does not emanate from the Gaon Ṣemaḥ as Shapira maintains.

Herewith a few textual remarks. The heading of the letter reads:

ב[רכת] השם תרב צמח צדיק ראש מתיב [א]תה דס [ורא].

Line 5, שומרי תורותיים... [נפש]; l. 8, וזוהלי זימיון ואלף זכיות יהלכו; l. 9, כי בחסדי; ll. 10–11, ומודים לפ[ני]ו כי ראו כל אפסי ארץ; l. 15, Shapira's reading נ"ע גם [חי רוחנו] is very doubtful and likewise, l. 16, ואף על פי [כן], and, l. 17, לא תירא תהלה; l. 21, נבואה אחר[י]; l. 22, וריבוי (=רבוא, myriad); l. 30, בא יבאה is hardly correct, the letters probably stand for a geographical place wherein Elḥanan then happened to be, hence the meaning of the passage is: "and he (Solomon) said that he (Elḥanan) was in a certain place and I (Solomon) will give him your message; if Elḥanan wishes, he will accept and come"; l.39, לגדלך בתורותיים.

The whole problem of the last period of the Sura Gaonate, one of whose occupants we have in our Ṣemaḥ, has not been adequately treated by Shapira and therefore our discussion of it remains to be of value. Our suggestion that Ṣemaḥ was the son of Isaac is fully borne out by the Arabic address which indicates that the letter emanated from Ṣemaḥ Gaon (Rās al-Matibat) b. Isaac b. Palṭoi b. Isaac Ṣemaḥ b. Palṭoi. On the other hand our contention (*H. U. C. Jubilee Volume*, *p.* 227 ff.) that our Ṣemaḥ, Gaon of Sura, is identical with the author of the impor-

tant epistle of 953, C. E., because its writer was the great-grandson of Ṣemaḥ Gaon b. Palṭoi, now encounters the difficulty in that our Ṣemaḥ was a grandson of a Palṭoi (b. Ṣemaḥ b. Palṭoi), whereas the writer of the letter of 953 was a grandson of a Ṭob, Ab of the school Ṣemaḥ b. Palṭoi (J. Q. R., XVIII, 402, top). It would therefore seem that the Pumbedita Gaon Isaac Ṣemaḥ b. Palṭoi had two sons, one Ṭob Ab, whose grandson was the writer of the letter of 953, and another Palṭoi, whose grandson was our Ṣemaḥ, the first Gaon of Sura on its reopening shortly after 987! But it is also possible that just as the Pumbedita Gaon Isaac Ṣemaḥ went by two names so also his one son only was called Palṭoi Ṭob. The full name Isaac Ṣemaḥ is also corroborated by the passage in *Liḳḳute Happardes* (cited in *J. Q. R.*, N. S., XI, 444). We must await further Genizah data for the clarification of this point.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE RABBIS OF SOUTHERN FRANCE AND MAIMONIDES ABOUT ASTROLOGY.[1]

Edited by ALEXANDER MARX, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

A. Introduction

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B. Texts.

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I. Astrologya mong the Jews in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.[2]

THE BELIEF IN ASTROLOGY so generally prevailing during the Middle Ages was fully shared by the Jews. We find

[1] My lamented friend Israel Friedlaender had intended to publish the text edited hereafter in connection with his planned edition of the letter to Yemen and some other small writings of Maimonides. The photographs used for the letter on astrology were procured by him. Working at these texts I was constantly and sorrowfully reminded of the many years of intimate association and fruitful collaboration with my departed friend, who was so early taken away from us. This paper is inscribed to his cherished memory.

[2] In the following sketch I have tried to give an account of two astrological

its traces in Talmud and Midrash and its influence is evident in many pages of our later literature. The people were fully convinced of the fundamental truth of the power of the celestial bodies to influence human destiny and the thinking persons early realized the difficulty of reconciling these theories with the principles of Jewish faith. If everything was predetermined what of divine power to shape the destinies of man according to his merits? What use was there in prayer, if nothing could be changed in the ironclad determination of fate? There were differences among the adepts of astrology on many points and not all agreed that the determination of the celestial bodies was unalterable. The Geonim Sherira and Hai[3] already speak of different schools of astrology, some of which were absolutely opposed to the belief in God while others brought their theories into some kind of agreement with their conception of divine power.

The great mathematician and astronomer Abraham bar Ḥiyya[4] stoutly defended the study of astrology and its application to life. He advised a friend of his to change the hour of his wedding from a time when the constellation was unfavorable.

treatises which were not as a whole accessible to the previous writers on the subject. This account serves as a background for the summary of the texts published *infra*. The reader may be surprised not to find Abraham ibn Ezra discussed here, but what can be gleaned from his published writings has been gathered in Rosin's masterly treatise *M.G.W.J.* 42 (1898) 247-52, 305-15, 345-82, 394-402. For a fuller treatment a detailed examination of his numerous astrological works, such as would be out of place here, would be necessary.

For astrology in general among the Jews see S. Sachs, היונה I (Berlin, 1851) p. 59-93; L. Löw *Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 115-31: *Die Astrologie bei den Juden*; Schmiedl, *Studien über jüdische insbesondere jüdisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie*, (Vienna 1869) p. 297-316: *Astrologische Trübingen;* L. Blau and K. Kohler, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 241-45.

[3] Bagdad, end of the tenth century. The responsum was printed anonymously in *Teshuboth ha- Geonim*, ed. Harkavy, (Berlin 1887) nr. 390, p. 206-8. The authorship is established by the quotation in the letter of the Provençal Rabbis published hereafter (§ 2), where lines 2-15 of p. 207 are quoted with some better readings.

[4] Barcelona, first half of the twelfth century. Though some extracts were printed earlier, אגרת ר' אברהם ב"ר חייא הנשיא שכתב לר' יהודה ב"ר ברזילי על שאלה בכלדיים was published completely for the first time A. Z. Schwartz, Vienna 1917 (reprint from *Festschrift Adolf Schwartz*).

For this he was bitterly attacked by one of those present who rebuked him as a transgressor and a sinner. He defended himself in a very interesting letter to a leading representative of Talmudic learning, R. Judah ben Barzillai, who is known as a student of mysticism, on the basis of many Talmudic passages which, he claims, object to the consultation of Chaldeans but not to heeding their advice. Astrology is a true science (חכמת אמת), he states, which one ought to uphold and study (p. V, 1. 9-10, VI, 1. 29); it is the highest stage of astronomy which the Jewish wise men cultivated as well as the Gentiles and to which both were deeply devoted differing only in details (p. VII, 1. 25-27). The Gentiles, however, were more proficient in this subject (p. VII, 1. 13, VIII, 1. 22). The main difference he finds in the application of the power of the stars over Israel, for אין מזל לישראל (Sabbath 156a)[5], i.e. the decision of the stars can be reversed by righteous men (p. V, 1. 14-15) for they have no real mastery over Israel (p. V, 1. 30, VI, 1. 10). If God, however, in an exceptional case wishes to modify the decision of the stars in relation to Gentiles he has to deprive of its power the star which rules at the particular time (p. VI, 1. 8-9; VIII, 1. 29-30). Therefore the main difference between Jewish and non-Jewish astrologers is that the former deny the absolute power of the heavenly bodies (p. VIII, 1. 2-5) which the others acknowledge. The study of astrology, since it warns against impending danger, will tend only to turn the Jew to prayer and piety and strengthen him in his religion (p. IX, 1. 6f; XI, 1. 15-18). Abraham bar Hiyya then enumerates four categories of astrologers whose practices are distinctly idolatrous and which he accordingly strongly condemns (p. IX, 1. 14-X, 1. 6, cf. XI, 1. 20 ff). But these do not interest us at present.

We get here a glimpse of the differences existing between the adherents and opponents of astrology and the strong conviction of its value and religious importance upheld by a scholar of the first rank. It would be very interesting if we could learn anything about the reaction of the addressee to this letter.

[5] This maxim is the subject of the question of the Geonim mentioned in note 2 as well as of the Provençal scholars discussed hereafter and of most of the other Jewish writers on the topic.

Abraham bar Ḥiyya's arbitrary restriction of the power of the stars as far as Israel is concerned could hardly appeal to the large group of serious adepts of astrology, and other methods for solving the problems had to be found. Judah ben Solomon ha-Cohen ibn Matkah[6] of Toledo, who devoted a part of his encyclopedia *Midrash ha-Hokhma* to an account of astrology on the basis of Ptolemy's Quadripartitum, felt the necessity of defining his position towards this question. In his introduction (fol. 2) and a short excursus in chapter 3 (fol. 9a) he explains that with Israel and especially with pious men God gives the decree of the stars a favorable turn so that the consequences redound to the benefit of the person or he causes the son of a good man to be born under a favorable constellation. He states, however, that the decree of the stars as to the character of a man is not unalterable.[7]

There is only one point in Ptolemy's statements (f. 4b) which arouses his strong opposition, that the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine are fools who do not know God. This he tries to refute by challenging the author's methods and traces it back (f. 5a) to the author's or perhaps the translator's hatred of the Jews, "for all are jealous of us on account of the Torah which is our inheritance." In the introduction (f. 2b) he refers Ptolemy's judgment to the peoples who preceded Israel in the land and claims that God wished to dwell there and to make Palestine the seat of prophecy in order to overthrow the unfavorable decree of the stars against Israel, for the sentence אין מזל לישראל only means that the stars can have no unfavorable influence on Israel if they deserve to escape from it.

The intrinsic truth of astrology Judah considers entirely beyond doubt (f. 8a). Aristotle's denial is due to the incomplete development of astronomical science in his time. He thinks

[6] First half of the thirteenth century, in correspondence with Emperor Frederic II. See on his encyclopedia Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen* (Berlin 1893) p. 1-4; comp. ib. 527 about אוהות השמים הוא ספר משפטי הכוכבים ומשפטי הנולד, Warsaw 1886, the only part so far printed, though incorrectly, on which the following is based. See also Catalogue Berlin II, p. 125.

[7] fol. 9a צריך את למידע כי זה שנתן כח הגלגל להיות רשע לא כל (read בכם (ברם [וכך] דבר חוק שאי אפשר לסור מדרכו אך יוכל הדבר להיות בקושי.

that before the flood more astrological knowledge was accessible which gradually was lost later. He omits only what Ptolemy says about the length of life since none of the astrologers have succeeded yet in determining this; it depends on the fixed stars, whose nature is not sufficiently known.

Here we have the point of view of two very prominent scholars of sound scientific training with regard to our subject. It is interesting to compare it with that of the scholars of Southern France[8] which finds expression in their letter to Maimonides, published here for the first time. The writers are not personally adepts of astrology (§18).[9] They have heard much about it (§13, 15) and read some astrological writings from which they quote (§7, 10, 11, 24), but have no definite attitude towards this science.[10] One feels that they believe in its truth in their hearts and yet are not willing to admit it since they cannot reconcile it with their religion. On the one hand they state that if a premature death is foreordained by the constellation at the birth of a perfectly healthy person and if there is no way of escaping this, our mind rebels against it (§5-6). It would rest in the stars the full direction of human destinies since the creation. Such a situation would destroy the faith of the believers in the Torah and close the door before those who put their faith in prayers. Everybody would feel that since he could not expect to have the order of the world changed for his sake, his prayer was bound to be futile (§4). Such a point of view would subvert the foundations of Judaism. Although we find in the Talmud the statement that life, children and livelihood depend on luck (מזל, star), not on merits, there are so many Biblical and Talmudical passages emphasizing the value of merit in this and the future worlds that they cannot admit that the stars have such power. This science, they find, is different from all others, for e.g. medicine is of great help while astrology only brings misery (§6).

[8] See the following chapter on these correspondents of Maimonides and their spokesman, R. Jonathan ha-Kohen.

[9] The paragraphs refer to those of the following edition.

[10] Whether they were directly or indirectly influenced by the series of astrological writings composed by Abraham ibn Ezra in 1146 and 1148 can only be established by an investigation of these still unpublished books which is beyond the compass of this sketch.

On the other hand they cannot simply dismiss these astrological ideas from their minds and some of their number are so much worried by pondering over these problems that it robs them of their mental rest (§27).

In their perplexity they appeal to the great scholar in far away Egypt whose great fame as a master of Torah and science had reached them, and in touching confidence (e.g. §20, 27) they call for his guidance. They feel certain that it is in his power to end their doubts and to offer them a satisfactory solution as he certainly must have mastered the subject in all its intricacies (see e.g. §14, 23, 25). This conviction is most evident from their final question which they bring forward with considerable hesitation. Since the astrologers maintain that the constellation at the birth is the same as that at the time of the conception, could an experienced astrologer calculate at least a day or even an hour or a part of an hour which would be free from all danger? Such a calculation, they think, might be carried through for a longer period, perhaps seventy years (§24-25). On this point he might eventually send them a confidential answer. This request more than anything else gives us an intimation of the strength of their belief in such superstition.

As to the various kinds of fate read out of the stars by the astrologers the letter gives us a large and interesting selection:[11] a man will die from an unusual sickness or at the hands of robbers, he will be imprisoned, will die of an unnatural death together with many others, he will suffer from a physical defect, he will lose his fortune, he will for various reasons commit suicide, he will be captured on a journey and fall into captivity, misfortune will reach him in the middle of his life, his end will not be good, he will suffer from many troubles, he will always be poor, he will always be full of sorrows and fear of death, one of his brothers will suffer from a permanent illness, all his brothers will die during his lifetime, most of his children will die before him;

[11] Many of these points are discussed in Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*, Books III-IV. See Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era*, I (New York 1923) p. 115. They are not found in Judah ben Solomon's abstract. The quotations in our letter go back to one of the writers who deal with the stations of the moon.

they predict many other calamities, such as the sword, fire, water, wild animals, collapse of a building, fall from a high place, etc. (§8). They wish to know whether such prediction have any foundation, and whether there is a way to escape such threatened misfortune (§12).

Further the astrologers claim that from the constellation of a son one can conclude the destiny of the father. The French scholars now ask whether one can also learn the fate of his brothers, whether one can also know about the father's brothers and his grandfather (§11) and whether one can know more details in the cases of the misfortunes enumerated before, e.g. if the death of all the brothers or most of the sons of a man is found in the stars, can one learn in what order and in what way they will die? Or can one determine the illness, which his brothers will suffer from and when it will begin (§10)? A most important indication of their essential belief in astrology is the question whether there is any escape from decrees of the stars (§9), so that one need not consider his prayers futile (§12).

Further they had heard that in some cases removal from the birthplace helped to evade an evil fate and wished to know whether in different cases a smaller or larger distance was required (§13).

Some astrologers are ready to read the stars as to a man's fate even though they do not know the constellation at the time of his birth while others declare such prophecies valueless. They speak of the relations between the soul and the upper spheres which complicate the finding of an answer to questions when the basic information as to the constellation at birth is lacking (§15). Maimonides is asked whether one might question the astrologer concerning the fate of another person who is opposed to such interrogation (§16). He should also give general rules which would help to determine the basis of a misfortune announced by the star, as well as the time when it is to happen, so as to make possible escape from it (§17). If such rules be too deep and difficult for the questioners to understand they would consult the scholars living near them who had devoted themselves to this science (§18). Incidentally a Mohammedan philosopher who had visited Southern France is mentioned. He had expressed his

doubts as to the accuracy and infallibility of all astrological forecasts, because certain powers in the highest sphere which are beyond human observation occasionally turn the power of the stars in the opposite direction (§14).

How much the questioners were concerned with a clear answer to all their queries they show by their summary in which all the points on which they desire the opinion of the revered master are repeated in detail (§21) with an entreaty to present an exhaustive answer (§22) just as the early Geonim had answered every question put before them (§23). After adding another question from a previous letter (§24) they once more urgently appeal to Maimonides to answer clearly and fully every inquiry (§26-27), asking his pardon if their questions should contain foolish statements (§27).

Thus we get a full picture of the astrological beliefs and ideas which were entertained by a group of highly educated scholars, who, though devoted to Talmudic learning, were not foreign to secular sciences. Their spiritual plight is highly interesting and their letter is an important human document, such as we do not often meet in our literature.

Leaving aside for the moment the information about Maimonides' influence which we can gather,[12] we turn to the answer of the master-mind of mediaeval Jewry which treats our subject from an entirely new angle. Maimonides realized the sincere effort of his correspondents to find a solution in their dire perplexity and understood their difficulties. If the French Rabbis had assumed that he was thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of astrological science, they were justified in a different sense from what they had expected. He had indeed studied these problems and, characteristically, taken them up in connection with idolatry. He informed them (§8,)[13] that it was the first branch of secular learning he had seriously pursued and that he had most carefully read every book available in Arabic whether original or translated from other languages.

[12] See on this point chapter II.

[13] I quote according to the paragraphs of the edition following *infra*.

While this reading had indirectly been fruitful in leading him to the discovery of reasons for many Biblical commandments[14] as to their subject matter he had reached the conclusion that the whole science of astrology was baseless foolishness. In this view he had a predecessor in the Arabic philosopher Avitenna.[14a]

With this recognition all the questions of details contained in the letter of the French Rabbis disappear and Maimonides brushes them aside with the statement (§3) that they are branches of the same tree and go back to one root, the belief in astrology. At the end of his letter (§28) he returns to this picture and advises them to uproot the tree, cut off its branches, plant instead the tree of knowledge, gather its fruit and stretch forth their hands also to the tree of life.

In his systematic method he goes back to fundamentals and points out (§4-5) that everything a man is to believe must be traced to one of three categories: things which can be proved by mental processes like the teachings of arithmetic and geometry, things of which the five senses can convince us, and finally things known by tradition through the prophets and wise men. Only a foolish man would believe anything beyond these categories.

Of course, numberless books have been written by fools on astrology and many a man, great in years but not in wisdom, wasted his life with this science and imagined himself a scholar. It is a widely prevalent malady that people believe in every book that has been written especially if it has the prestige of hoary antiquity. If many persons devote themselves to the study and discussion of such books people are prone to assume that they

[14] Comp. the third part of the Moreh.

[14a] A summary of his treatise "The Refutation of the Astrologers" is given in A. F. Mehren, *Vues d'Avicenne sur l'astrologie et sur le rapport de la responsibilité humaine avec le destin* in *Muséon* III, Louvain, 1884, p. 383–403 and in the jubilee volume in honor of Francisco Codera, Saragossa, 1904, p. 235–50. This article remained unknown to Thorndike (see note 11) in whose index Avicenna's name does not occur!

Judah Hadassi in his *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, alphabet 64, fol 31a also, as L. Loew (see note 2) p. 125–26 pointed out, denied the power of the stars before Maimonides just as he was his predecessor in formulating a creed. But it is highly improbable that Maimonides knew the work of this Karaite of Constantinople.

have a sound foundation. In this matter the majority or almost all the people err and only a chosen few which God enlightens keep themselves free from such superstition (§6).

In this connection Maimonides makes the surprising statement (§7) that the belief in the astrological ideas, which he considers real idolatry, are responsible for the downfall of the Jewish state. "Our forefathers spent their time in following such teachings out of which they expected great benefits instead of concentrating their efforts upon learning the art of war and conquering of neighboring countries.[15] The prophets rightly rebuked them for their foolishness. For truly fools they were and they pursued useless things."

Again and again (§9-10) he strongly condemns as ridiculous and without foundation the belief that one could read out of the stars the fate of a person and that the constellation at the time of birth should decide his character. Only fools or people, who wish to deceive others, adhere to such theories (§10). He moreover emphatically declares that he has positive, irrefutable proofs to show the baselessness of these views. Such proofs refuting astrology root and branch had also been brought forward by the Greek scholars and astronomers, the representatives of all branches of true learning who made sport of the representatives of astrology. Similarly the Persian scholars realized that it was falsehood and deceit.

Only the Kasdim, Chaldaeans,[16] Egyptians and Canaanites had been adherents of this pseudo-science (§9).

In opposition to astrology Maimonides points (§11) to the real science of astronomy and the many important phenomena explained by it. The discussion of the stars and spheres leads him to the question of their creator who is responsible for the motion of the spheres. He refers to the differences of the various philosophical schools in reference to creation (§12 seg.). Most of them deny any kind of creation and maintain that both, the world and God, always existed (§13). Some in denying creation *ex*

[15] This imperialistic utterance betrays clearly the influence of the Court of that victorious warrior Sultan Saladin.

[16] Maimonides here as elsewhere curiously differentiates between Kasdim and Chaldeans, cf. Munk, *Guide* III 239, note 2.

nihilo assume that there was a primal substance out of which God created the world and which he could change at will into different forms (§14). But a third school shares the Jewish conception of the creation *ex nihilo* (§15). The three schools agree that God created whatever is in this world of living beings, plants and minerals with a power coming from spheres and stars. God's power emanated to the spheres and stars and thence it spread over the world and created all there is (§17). They thus substitute spheres and stars to which they ascribe souls and intellect for the angels through whom we believe God works miracles. The philosophic theories, Maimonides states (§18), do not contradict our religious beliefs; on the contrary, he found in the Midrashic literature proofs for identical views, as he pointed out in his philosophic work.

At this point Judaism and Greek philosophy come to a parting of ways.[17] The Greeks while admitting that the life and

[17] In his remarkably comprehensive and very instructive work (note 11) Thorndike devotes a special chapter to Maimonides. He discusses our letter II, 212 on the basis of the Latin translation of Johannes Isaac (Cologne, 1555) in which the large insertions from the *Kusari* and other sources make it hard to follow the author's trend. This is probably responsible for the fact that Thorndike did not perceive that Maimonides here does not argue any longer against the astrologers but against the theory of the Greek philosophers with whom he agreed in the condemnation of astrology. Maimonides does not identify the astrological doctrine with the rule of chance. In the Latin quotation note 1 the "ad haec" has no equivalent in the Hebrew, but after *quicquam* the end of the sentence "prodesse aut nativitatem, vel constitutionem et naturam" ought to have been added. I do not see why this particular passage troubled the author.

A few bibliographical notes on this chapter may be permitted. P. 205, note 1: Of the Yad ha-Hazakah, or, as the author called it, Mishneh Torah, over a dozen editions appeared before that of 1863, here recorded, beginning with several incunabula; the Book of Precepts appeared first in 1518, in the Arabic original in 1888, the commentary on the Mishnah in 1492. The *Regimen sanitatis* mentioned in note 3 has no connection whatever with the code. According to the Latin translation it was dedicated to Saladin, actually it was directed to his son, see e.g. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, p. 769-72. A few other medical texts have been published in recent years in Janus and elsewhere by H. Kroner. That the old Latin translation of the Moreh was edited in Paris 1520 by Bishop Justinian is stated e.g. by Steinschneider, *l.c.* p. 432. For the partly misprinted references, p. 207 note 1, Steinschneider's article, *J.Q.R.*, XVII, 360-69, would have been more accessible and useful.

the existence of everything is due to the spheres, i.e. fundamentally to God, claim that what happens to the individual creature is all a mere matter of chance (§19). Judaism on the other hand sees in all the events of life divine guidance and justice (§20).

But both, philosophers and believers, agree that the actions of man depend on his free will and are by no means determined and foreordained by the stars (§21). Thus, though in opposition to Judaism, the philosophers do not differentiate between the fate of man and beast, both agree as to the baselessness of the astrologers' claim that everything depends on the stars and cannot be changed. The falsity of this attitude is also evident on religious grounds. For if everything is foreordained, what can Torah, Biblical ordinances and Talmud help a man who by a superior power is compelled against his will to act the way he does? The opinions of these foolish people would abrogate the law of Moses while our own intelligence refutes their teachings (§24). Maimonides cannot permit the philosophic view, that all is a matter of chance, to pass without vigorous opposition. According to Jewish tradition it is as wrong as astrology. We cannot understand the secrets of divine justice, but we must believe in just retribution and cannot draw conclusions from our experiences and observations (§25).

If one or the other Talmudic authority apparently agrees with astrological theories, that cannot influence us[18] to give up the rational view (§26). After all, we do not know under what conditions such utterances were made and whether they were meant literally. He compares the occurrence of many passages in the Bible which we cannot understand and which the free translation of the old Targumim already interpreted in a rational way. "We have our eyes in front of us and should never leave our senses behind us. Thus I have revealed to you my whole heart," Maimonides concludes his interesting letter.

There cannot be the least doubt that the scholars to whom this letter was directed accepted unhesitatingly Maimonides' view, startling though it must have been to them. We do not

[18] S. Sachs, *ha-Jonah*, p. 61 note 27 draws attention to the parallel in the letter to the proselyte Obadiah, קובץ I, 34c, nr. 159.

have any direct utterance of theirs[19] on our subject but the expression of admiration in their later letters to the master at Cairo, of which we will speak afterwards, do not permit any other conclusion. It is, however, worth noticing that one of their contemporaries and countrymen, who otherwise evidently was very close to them, refused to admit the authority of Maimonides even on this question, though astrological studies were certainly foreign to him. The great critic of Posquières, Abraham ben David, who accompanied the code of Maimonides with his trenchant criticism and even took exception to his condemnation of anthropomorphistic beliefs, takes occasion in one of his glosses (on Teshubah V,) to remark:[20] "God's prescience is not a decree but may be compared to the foreknowledge of the astrologers who conclude the character of a man from the stars. It is known that whatever happens to man, great or small, God turned over to the power of the stars. He bestowed upon man, however, a mind which gives him the strength to avert the influence of the stars. That is the possibility given to man to be good or bad. The Creator knows the power of the stars and can judge whether the mind has the strength to overcome it. This knowledge is not a decree. But all this is not important." Here we have again what may be considered the prevalent view among the mediaeval Jews.

R. Solomon ibn Adret, the famous Rabbi of Barcelona, around 1300, discussing the various Talmudic statements concerning the influence of the stars on Israel, considers the whole subject a deep secret which he cannot explain as he has only heard very little about it from his teachers.[21] Of Maimonides'

[19] Perhaps the statement in the letter accompanying the questions about the Mishneh Torah (see hereafter) הוברי שמים הובשת בשמיך מעשה אצבעותיך (קובץ 6d) refers to this point.

[20] The text reads with some slight corrections according to the MS. of the Seminary אין ידיעתו (של הקב"ה) גזרה אבל היא כידיעת האצטגנינים שיודעים מכח אחד מה יהיו דרכיו של זה. והדבר ידוע שכל מקרה האדם קטן וגדול מסרו הבורא בכח המזלות אלא שנתן בו השכל להיות מהזקו לצאת מתחת המזל והוא כח הנתון באדם להיות טוב או רע: והבורא יודע כח המזל ורגעיו אם יש כח בשכל להוציא מידו אם לא. זו הידיעה אינה גזרה וכל זה איננו שוה:

[21] *Responsa* of Ibn Adret, part V, (Leghorn 1825) nr. 48 (fol. 9a—b). At the end he says: והוא ענין עמוק מאד לא שמעה אזני רק כנקודה מן הגלגל הגדול ולא קבלתי מרבותי כטפה מן הים ולא אוכל לפרש. Dr. B. Lewin drew my attention to this responsum, which was overlooked by earlier writers.

fundamental opposition to the theory he does not breathe a word.

Only one other Hebrew writer, as far as I know, fully endorsed Maimonides' view and absolutely denied any value to astrology. Isaac Pulgar who wrote in Spain in the first half of the fourteenth century devoted the third and longest part of his "Support of Faith" (Ezer ha-Dath)[21a] to this subject. He pours ridicule on the representatives of astrology, considers them imposters and those who believe in it dupes. In the form of a dialogue between an astrologer (Hober) and a scholar (Haber) he shows the worthlessness of astrology and its lack of foundation which its adherents vainly try to supply by mere repetition of the statements of earlier exponents. Pulgar had previously devoted a special treatise to the refutation of astrology in Spanish which is extant in a Vatican MS.[21b] and to which he refers here. It is probably directed against Alfonso of Valladolid (Abner of Burgos) whose objections to Pulgar follow in the same MS. He also refers to this opponent once[21c] in the afore mentioned chapter of the "Support of Faith."

[21a] ed. G. S. Belasco, London, 1906, with an English introduction which had first appeared in JQR. XVII p. 26–56. Our chapter covers p. 49–84 and is summed up p. XVII–XXIV, (JQR p. 42–49). Pulgar quotes Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (p. 53) and Gazzali's *Deoth ha-Filusufim* in Isaac Albalag's translation and with the latters notes (p. 57, 69) as sources of his opponent. P. 60 he remarks היתכן לשום אדם לחשוד לשלמה באמונה הנפסדת הזאת כאשר חשבו בן עזרא ורבי יהודה החסיד ובעל דיני הידוע It is incomprehensible how the editor (p. XVIII) could interpret these words to contain a "protest against the practice of regarding Ibn Esra and Jehuda the Hasid as believers" in astrology! Incidentally it may be noticed that he separates p. V between Ibn (sic) Gazzali and Ibn (sic) Hamad the Ishmaelite and does not know that Abul Zaled (read Abulwalid) who occurs p. 46 as refuting Gazzali's הכחשת הפלוסופים is of course Averroes (Abu'l Walid Muhammed ibn Rushd). An account of Pulgar's work was first given by B. Beer, M. G. W. J. IV, 309–13, then by I. Loeb, *La controverse religieuse entre les chretiens et les juifs au moyen-âge en France et en Espagne*, Paris, 1888, p. 42–43 and REJ, XVIII, p. 63–70.

[21b] Codex Lat. 6423 according to Bartolocci III p. 919; cf. Catalogue De Rossi II p. 74. It is undoubtedly this text to which our author refers p. 61 as בהכחשת האצטגנינות (read חברנו) מאמר חברתנו. This book is missing in Kayserling's *Biblioteca*.—Pulgar also dealt with astrology in his lost commentary on Koheleth as is evident from his quotations in the "Support of Faith."

[21c] He is meant with בעל דיני הידוע in the passage quoted note 21a.

The four texts discussed above give us a fine picture of the ideas of educated Jews during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on one of the fundamental problems which occupied the minds of their contemporaries.

A comparison between the opinions expressed by the four writers shows us many points of interest. We see Maimonides, as in so many other respects far ahead of his time. He stands virtually alone among the Jews possessing the superior insight which made it impossible for him to be deceived by superstitious beliefs. His trenchant criticism entirely disposes of the problem which worried his contemporaries. While the others lacked the clearness of perception and perhaps the courage to go so far, they agree in placing their religious principles above all theories and therefore are led to weak compromise or despair as was the case with some of the French scholars.

II. MAIMONIDES AND THE SCHOLARS OF SOUTHERN FRANCE

The Provençal[22] Rabbis in their letter to Maimonides on astrology speak with unusual humility and with an expression of respect and veneration which might lead us to conclude that they were acquainted with all his great works. Yet Maimonides assumes that even his code has not reached them since his attitude toward their question was clearly expressed there (§3). What then can have given them their high opinion of the sage at Cairo? The only evidence for their knowledge of any of his works is contained in the reference to his "letter to Yemen" in an appendix to their question (§29) in which they ask about the early coming of the Messiah. But even of this letter, which they assume to be directed to the Jews of Fez, their notion is evidently hazy and Maimonides corrects their statement as to its destination and takes occasion to inform them of the further fate of the Pseudo-Messiah in Yemen (§27). The general reference to his wondrous books which are his messengers hardly prove anything as to their acquaintance with them. We are thus compelled to

[22]Though differentiating between Provence and Northern France in קובץ I 25b (ערי רומי וצרפת וכל פרובינציאה), Maimonides generally calls the scholars of Provence בני פרנצא even in the same letter (see ib. 26c).

conclude that it was fame that had reached them by rumor rather than his writings, which had given them so high an opinion.

To convey an idea of the fulsome praise showered on him a few examples will be sufficient. His relations to "Wisdom" are especially emphasized; after its storehouses were destroyed and the steps leading to them had fallen down, wisdom was forsaken and felt exiled without a guide until the Lord sent a redeemer who revealed the tower of understanding. Wisdom then bore a beloved son who magnified the Torah and made it glorious, who is called wondrous hero, everlasting father, prince of peace, on whose shoulders the government is (Is. 95); thus they apply to Maimonides the Messianic terminology of Isaiah. He made handles for the Torah,[23] is another striking phrase applied to his activity. He was sent to make desolate lands flourish by the spring of his wisdom. Tongues are too busy, lips inadequate to sing fully his endless praises, to describe his wonderful qualities. His high reputation resounds from the end of the earth, the whole world proclaims his achievements. Repeatedly Maimonides is designated as "the light of our eyes" and in their conclusion the correspondents say that when they will hear from him the truth they will fully accept it and rely on it, as if it were a Sinaitic tradition handed down by Moses.

Such application of Prophetic texts and such hyperbolic expressions are remarkable even where people are lavish in their praise. They show an extraordinary confidence in Maimonides' authority. We see that Maimonides' fame had spread more rapidly and farther than his great works.

It is hard to gauge the impression made on Maimonides by this letter. With a man, who is generally so objective and sparing with praise and reluctant to make compliments, the absence of laudatory phrases about his correspondents might not prove much. But there are some points which lead us to believe that Maimonides had not formed a very high opinion of the writers; the fact that their previous letters to which the Frenchmen

[23] The term עשה אונים לתורה is applied to King Solomon in the earlier literature; cf. Erubin 21b end, *Midrash Song of Songs*, I §8 in the octavo edition.

alluded had elicited no answer and were not even referred to by Maimonides points to this conclusion. His admission at the end of his letter, written the day after Yom Kippur, that had it not been for the pressure exerted on him by the representative of R. Phineas,[24] who unremittingly urged him to answer and refused to leave him without a reply, hardly admits of any other explanation. But if we are correct in this assumption, Maimonides was soon to revise his judgment.

In his letter he states that his Mishneh Torah which had spread East and West, to Yemen and to Sicily, would surely soon reach them. When this book actually did come into their hands they naturally devoted themselves immediately to studying it. Here they were not dealing with philosophic theories, the fundamentals of which were foreign to them, but with the Talmud, the center of their life, their very element, and, though not possessed with equal systematizing ability, they could meet Maimonides in this sphere as equals. The lack of sources, which was so strongly objected to on many sides when the Mishneh Torah appeared, could not affect these scholars, who were familiar with every Talmudic statement, and when they directed a series of 24

[24] R. Phineas is evidently the Judge of Alexandria, P. ben Meshullam, to whom Maimonides wrote the most interesting and characteristic letter (קובץ I No. 140, f. 25-27) in which he refers (25b) to the Provence as the native country of R. Phineas.

Samuel ibn Tibbon (קובץ II 27a) speaks of the Jews who constantly travel between Alexandria and Provence and through whom his friend R. Abraham ha-Kohen would transmit to him Maimonides' book.

Another Provençal scholar of Maimonides' acquaintance, R. Meir is mentioned in the letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon (קובץ II 27a) as a pupil of R. Abraham, the great scholar of Posquières, of the scholar R. Jacob and of R. Abraham ibn Ezra (the text is to be corrected from MS. Oxford 859[2], שהיה למד אצל ר' אברהם הרב הגדול שבפושקיירש ואצל ר' יעקב הרב ז"ל ואצל ר' אברהם בן עזרא זצ"ל). Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 246-7, considers this R. Meir a native of Northern France since he identifies his teacher R. Jacob with R. Tam. I would rather identify our R. Meir with R. Meir of Carcassone who had settled in Tyre, where Benjamin of Tudela found him and who is mentioned in an unpublished Responsum of Maimonides in MS. Simonsen, see Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, III 89. R. Meir had spoken to Maimonides about Judah ibn Tibbon, but did not know of his gifted son Samuel; he had probably left his home long before and this fact favors the identification.

questions to the great master the impression on him was quite marked. A comparison of the tone of the letter accompanying his answer[25] to their legal questions is very illuminating from this angle.

It may not be out of place to discuss here at some length the changed impression of the Provence scholars indicated in his later correspondence.[26] He expresses great pleasure to learn from their questions that his book had come into the hand of men who had mastered the last intricacies of the subject and he hardly could give a higher praise than when he pictures the impression made by their letter. "And Moses said: I will turn aside now and see this great sight (Ex. 3, 3) and we will listen to these difficult questions. At the end of my days my sons have gained victory over me." R. Jonathan's seat, he says, is on the throne of the Talmud;[27] he and his colleagues constantly serve God in his Temple and to them the Torah has been turned over. He finds almost all their questions justified and compares them (nr. 43) to those of the heads of the Babylonian academies. The latter were more superficial and did not by any means enter so deeply into the subject as the French scholars. Some of the points to which they object had given him much concern and he himself had first shared their view (see 26, 35, 40). He therefore (nr. 43) objects to the modesty with which they again unhesitatingly state that even in these legal matters they will not reject his decision and consider his opinion as quite as important as that

[25] קובץ I, no. 49, fol. 12, reprinted from פאר הדור. The text can be corrected in many places from the first edition in תעלומות חכמה, Basle 1629, fol. 92-3; e.g. in the address to R. Jonathan it reads [כמים קרים ביום הוא הרב הנערב. שרב. עמוד המערב.] הנחמד מזהב ומפז רב. מר ורב יהונתן הכהן סגלת הכהנים בן כבוד גדול וקדוש מר ורב דוד ז"ל Fol. 12c l. 4 עול הגוים על צואדי (instead of החולים) etc. The questions and answers themselves are found ib. nrs. 25-48, fol. 6-12, (see also notes 30 and 45). In the following discussion Maimonides' answers are quoted by these numbers.

[26] Incidentally the sequence and interrelation of these letters will be clarified in some respects, a problem which inspite of the new material that has come to light has not been examined since the appearance of Steinschneider's Bodleian catalogue. If my suggestion in note 33 proves correct, an important date in the chronology of Maimonides' life would be established.

[27] At the conclusion of the last answer he applies to him the terms הרב המובהק הפטיש החזק which have much meaning under this pen.

of a majority voting against theirs. "Do not humble yourselves," he exclaims, "if you are not my teachers, you are my equals and friends and all your questions are worth raising." He answers all their questions in detail. In one case (nr. 29) he says that they are certainly right and that in consequence of their objections he has now corrected his book. In another case (nr. 47) Maimonides had already changed his code. It is particularly interesting that in some instances mistakes had already crept into the copy that had reached them (nrs. 38, 44). This fact reveals the significance of the autograph signature of Maimonides in the Oxford MS. of the first three books of the Mishneh Torah attesting that the copy has been corrected from his original.[28] Maimonides letter contains some most characteristic and illuminating statements about his method and aims which however do not concern us in this connection. Only his attitude towards the criticism of his work may be mentioned. "You have conferred a great boon on me and whoever finds something to correct in my work and informs me I will consider a benefactor," so that there should be no misleading decision left in his code.

Owing to his illness—for about a year he had been bedridden —his answer had been delayed for some years and he apologizes also for not having written all the answers and the whole accompanying letter with his own hand.[29] Thus we see how these scholars had gained the respect and admiration of their great correspondent.

In R. Jonathan's letter introducing the questions on the Mishneh Torah[30] which parallels its predecessor in expressions of

[28] מוגה מספרי אני משה ברבי מימון זצ"ל. The signature is reproduced in plate IV of the Facsimiles accompanying Neubauer's Catalogue. Cf. what is said about the text of the Moreh in Samuel ibn Tibbon's letter at the end of the chapter.

[29] Express references to his own holograph letters Maimonides makes elsewhere as well *e.g.* in his later letter to the Lunel scholars.

[30] קובץ I nr. 24 fol. 6-7. In MS. Adler 2405 (see below chapter IV), fol. 215a, it bears the heading זה כתב הקושיות שהשיגו לגאון הרב רבינו משה בן הרב רבינו מימון זצ"ל על קצת הלכות מן החבור ושלחו אליו הרב רבי יהונתן הכהן הגדול זצ"ל גדול החכמים מחכמי לוניל וזה לשונו:

אל בית אדוננו מגלה מהרי. אולם בנשקך נעלי התאחר
כי סוס ותור איכה לפרס יערכו. גם הואב איך יעמוד לפני ארי:

praise and admiration, the writer asks for the Moreh Nebukim whose fame had reached his circle. It is to this book to which Maimonides repeatedly referred in his letter on astrology without mentioning its title, that the few other letters between Maimonides and the Provençal Rabbis that came down to us refer. It seems that Maimonides sent them the first two parts of the Moreh, probably even before he answered their questions on the Mishneh Torah. The scholars of Lunel now engaged Samuel ibn Tibbon to translate the work, which in its Arabic original was to them "like a stone tied up in a sling and a rose in the midst of thorns." Having read what he had translated they were keenly interested in seeing the rest of the masterful exposition of their revered teacher and felt "like the thirsty from whom the cup had been snatched just as he started to drink, or as a suckling removed from its mother's breast." Therefore R. Jonathan once more appealed in their name to the master to send them the last part of the Moreh, so that they should not have wasted their money. The translator was evidently paid by the group of scholars who had charged him with the task.[31] This letter which was discovered in the Genizah[32] begins with a poem. A complimentary introduction in Aramaic follows and the letter has a characteristic postscript. "Vouchsafe me an answer, our master, pride of Israel, and do not compel me to appeal to others for help and complaint," the writer exclaims. He hopes to receive the answer during his lifetime so that later generations will be able to study the book and God will be praised through Maimonides (as author) and through him (as inspiring the translation). We are reminded of the postscript in Maimonides' letter on astrology stating that he had written only at the urgent solicitation of the

Then follows the letter and, fol. 218-23, the questions nr. 25-34, 37, 40 and 44. The same heading is found in MS. Oxford 2670[5], Cat. II p. 71. The כתבי רבני צרפת are quoted in Maimonides' letter to Ibn Aknin, קובץ II 30d.

[31] They must of course also have paid for the copy Maimonides sent them. See the reference to the purchase of three copies of the Mishneh Torah for Yemen in the letter to Lunel (קובץ II 44b).

It is a pity that no references to such matters of business which would throw light on the book trade in the Middle Ages are included in our correspondence.

[32] Wertheimer, גנזי ירושלים I (Jerus. 1896) p. 33-35.

Dayyan of Alexandria, R. Phineas. It is this note which makes one think that the writer had not yet received Maimonides' highly complimentary answer to his legal questions. As a matter of fact in the letter to Lunel mentioned in the next paragraph Maimonides says that he had sent the third part of the Moreh together with his answer to the questions on the Mishneh Torah.[33]

The Lunel community must have sent another appeal to Maimonides with various signatures, requesting Maimonides himself to translate his Moreh.[34] His answer to this request,[35] curiously enough, begins with the same verse[36] as his letter on astrology. It was accompanied by the third part of the Moreh and was probably written shortly after the answer on the legal questions, to which Maimonides expressly refers.[37] He asks them

[33] Can we conclude from this fact that the third part of the Moreh was only finished some years after 1195?? The quotations in the treatise on resurrection in 1191 refer, I think, only to the earlier parts. Graetz's proof, VI³, p. 306, note 2, does therefore not apply to the whole book.

[34] Cf. Ibn Tibbon's introduction to his translation of the Moreh
הביאה תשוקת חכמי הארץ הזאת ונבוניה אותם ובראשם החסיד הכהן ר' יהונתן נר"ו ויתר חכמי בקעת ירחו (i.e. Lunel) עיר מושבי לשלוח אחרי הספר הנזכר אל מצרים בשמעם את שמעו. ויתחננו על פי כתביהם אל המחבר את הספר הזה. ויבקשו לשלחו אליהם מועתק אם יוכל או בלתי מועתק. והשתדלו בזה השתדלות גדולה... ועוד כי הוסיפו כוסף על האותם בעמדם על קצת מעניני הספר.

[35] Ed. Geiger אוצר נחמד, II, 3-4, (cf. III 114); קובץ II 44, Wertheimer, *l. c.* 35-37. Maimonides speaks of two letters of the Lunel scholars: כתביכם הראשונים והאחרונים. Probably he refers to R. Jonathan's letter as the former one, since it is expressly written in their name. It is hard to understand why they should have asked Maimonides to prepare a translation after Ibn Tibbon had begun the work at their initiative. Eppenstein's answer (*Moses ben Maimon* II p. 98 note) to this question is unsatisfactory.

[36] It is a slip on the part of the author to start two letters the same way, but probably about five years had passed since the letter on astrology and he evidently had forgotten its beginning. Whether the verse was omitted by some copyist for this reason is impossible to ascertain. It is found in almost all the MSS. and Isaac Abravanel, עטרת זקנים, Amsterdam 1739, f. 39a, quotes it as the beginning of the letter on astrology. Gross, *M.G.W.J.* 18 (1869), p. 442 note 1, in describing a Günzburg MS. of the letter on astrology objects to its beginning as belonging to the other letter. In Gallia Judaica, p. 325, he considers this MS. as well as that of Munich to contain this second letter to Lunel instead of that on astrology and his statements are confused in consequence.

[37] He states that he there gave the reason for the delay of his answer.

to excuse the delay of his answer, the reason for which he already had communicated to R. Jonathan. Out of respect for their community he writes the letter wholly in his own hand, though it is very hard for him. He refers to his correspondence with Samuel ibn Tibbon about the latter's translation. He says that in these bad times no country is studying the Torah and the Talmud so actively as France. The future of Jewish learning depends upon their activities and he encourages them to work for Israel. Everywhere else conditions are desperate.[38] He sees only in France a future for Jewish learning.[39] What a change of attitude on the part of Maimonides since he had written his letter on astrology!

Who the men were who started this correspondence with Maimonides we cannot tell. Only R. Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel is mentioned by name. In the question on astrology, which is published here, we read the request to send the answer by a reliable person to Montpellier, which is near Narbonne and Marseilles, and to address it to R. Jonathan. Consequently the latter must have lived in Montpellier at this time.[40] Maimonides' answer, which is directed to Montpellier in most MSS.[41] and according to the authorities who quote it,[42] is described in the editions since 1517 and in MS. Adler[43] as a letter to the scholars

[38] See e.g. Graetz VI[3] p. 325.

[39] The 12th century was the period of flower in Provence for general literature as well as for the Jews. After the crusades against the Albigensians early in the 13th century both fall into decline. The expulsion of 1306 reduced Provençal Jews to virtual insignificance.

[40] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 325, does no even consider this possibility.

[41] Thus in the four MSS. B D H M described below in chapter IV and in MS. De Rossi 327[7] which is written in 1289; comp. Horowitz, בית עקד האגדות p. 16.

Codex Vienna 141[7] in Schwarz's splendid new catalogue has the heading לחכמי לוניל ואצילי ההר, but in the address printed below as §31 only Montpellier is mentioned. According to *Cat. Bodl.* p. 1903 both cities are equally mentioned in Codex Vatican 385[2]. Perhaps the fact that R. Jonathan is always mentioned as from Lunel is responsible for this addition.

[42] Moses Narboni and Moses Alashkar (see note 69 below) as well as Isaac Abravanel (see above note 36).

[43] Also MS. Brit. Mus. 904 dated 1273 which also lacks the verse from Song of Songs (see note 36) and MS. Oxford 2219, where it is spelled מרציליאה. In other cases it is not clear whether the catalogues quote the MSS. or use the

of Marseilles, that city as just stated being mentioned incidentally by the French Jews. Perhaps it was addressed to Montpellier near Marseilles[44] and this fact may have caused the mistake. The questions about the Mishneh Torah are ascribed to R. Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel in the editions and MS. Adler and are frequently quoted in the literature as those of the Lunel scholars.[45] The request of R. Jonathan for the missing part of the Moreh is expressly made in the name of the scholars of Lunel[46] and Maimonides' last letter is also directed to the Lunel circle.

R. Jonathan was evidently the center and moving spirit of the circle of scholars who addressed themselves to Maimonides. He still lived in Montpellier in 1194, the date of Maimonides' answer on astrology. Soon after that he must have moved to Lunel with which his name remained ultimately connected; the further correspondence was carried on from Lunel. Of course the members of his circle[47] need not all have lived in one city. Possibly some close relationship existed between the residents of the various important settlements which were not far distant. It would be interesting if the names of the signatories of the letter on astrology as well as of the Lunel letter about the Moreh to which Maimonides replied were known. Such information might throw some light on this question.

Speaking of the relations between Maimonides and the scholars of Southern France we cannot pass over his famous correspondence with Samuel ibn Tibbon. As I suggested before, Maimonides had the request of R. Jonathan for the Moreh fulfilled by sending the first two parts of the Moreh even before he answered the questions on the Mishneh Torah, whereas the third

common title of the letter, e.g. MSS. Oxford 158[7] and 2360[6] or Paris 708[3]. For this reason I did not think it worth while to look through other catalogues, especially since the discovery of the text of the letter of the Provençal Rabbis seems to settle the question.

[44] The address §31 does not mention a place.

[45] Two of these questions (קובץ I nr. 37-38), curiously enough, are found with the heading אלו השאלות ששאלו קהל מונפשליר לר"מ במו"ל in a MS. of our Library. See R.E.J. 59 p. 221 note.

[46] חכמינו אלה יושבי ירח, Wertheimer p. 35.

[47] בני חבורתנו, question about astrology §2.

part accompanied his answer. Samuel ibn Tibbon, who by his Hebrew translation of the Arabic text inscribed his name in the annals of Jewish literature, was intrusted with this task by admirers of Maimonides in Lunel. He found many difficulties in the text and realized that the copy he had was in many respects faulty.[48] Being careful and painstaking in his scientific work,[49] he therefore found it necessary to turn to the author for the elucidation of many points.[50] The letters reached Maimonides while he was sick—perhaps it was the same prolonged malady which had delayed his answer to R. Jonathan's question on the Mishneh Torah—and in May 1198[51] he sent a preliminary answer telling about his partial recovery and promising a discussion of the difficulties later. While waiting for this reply Ibn Tibbon wrote once more about a new difficulty in one of the last chapters of the book (III 51) in March 1199.[52] The accompanying letter without the question itself has been published. At the same time the translator sent his copy of the Moreh with some corrections in the third part from a second MS.—perhaps the one Maimonides had sent at the sollicitations of the Lunel scholars?—and asked for a careful and repeated collation with the author's original to be

[48] Ibn Tibbon had somehow procured a copy of the third part, but it contained gross blunders of a character suggesting to him the interesting conclusion that it went back, directly or indirectly, to a copy written in Arabic characters (קובץ II 27b) comp. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, p. 416.

[49] One can see how little foundation there was for the fear expressed by this pedantic father in his צוואה.

[50] A passage in Maimonides' answer (קובץ II 27b) suggests that one of Ibn Tibbon's letters was sent together with one from the Lunel scholars; perhaps it was their above mentioned letter in which they may have requested Maimonides if he himself would not undertake a translation to help Ibn Tibbon by answering him. He says ...והגיעו כתבי הישיבה הנשאה, a passage which the English translator considers out of place, but a little later we read כן ראוי לישיבה המעולה לעשות בכל מה שתתרגמו ותעתיקו לאדונים ההם הנכבדים, suggesting that Ibn Tibbon worked in collaboration with others??

[51] בחצי סיון as Steinschneider corrects בחצי היון in קובץ II 26c from MS. Oxford 2218 in *Cat. Bodl.* p. 2490.

[52] According to Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* 1900, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen* p. 416 note, the letter is dated in MS. Oxford Adar II 1510 Sel.

attested by the author's signature.[53] Whether this request was fulfilled and whether he ever received an answer to this question we do not know, but it is unlikely.[54] When half a year later, September 30, 1199,[55] Maimonides wrote a full answer to the earlier questions, this last letter of Ibn Tibbon's had not reached him yet. Maimonides' letter,[56] the technical part of which is also only partly published, belongs to the most interesting and important documents in his correspondence and has been translated into English.[57] Here Maimonides gives general rules for the translator from one language into another, expresses his opinions on the more important works of Graeco-Arabic and Jewish philosophy and gives the remarkable account of his daily activities which is quoted in every biography. It is the last letter of his to Provence which has reached us.

A few years later Samuel ibn Tibbon wrote once more to Maimonides inquiring whether he had written a commentary to the Solomonic books of the Bible. The interpretation of numerous passages from these books in the Moreh had strongly appealed to him and eventually he would like to have a copy. If Maimonides had not written such a work, he would urge him to undertake it. When this letter reached Egypt, the sage was no longer among the living. Ibn Tibbon incorporated his letter or an extract from it into the introduction to his own commentary on Kohelet.[58]

[53] Compare note 28.

[54] Moses ibn Tibbon who added a discussion to his father's question makes no reference to an answer; nor does Narboni who in his commentary on III 51 discusses the letter of Samuel and his son's note. A copy of the unpublished part of this correspondence and Moses ibn Tibbon's note is found among Steinschneider's papers in our Library. In the introduction to the translation of the *Moreh* we find no reference to the use of a collated copy of the original.

[55] Tishri 8 1511 קובץ II 29a.

[56] קובץ II 27-29 cf. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, p. 40 ff, 417 ff.

[57] By Dr. H. Adler, *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, I, (London 1872) p. 219-28.

[58] See Cat. De Rossi, Codex 272; comp. Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* p. 1900-1 and Cat. Neubauer Nr. 132.

III

The Original Language of Maimonides in the Letter of Astrology.

One more point about the letter on astrology requires discussion. MS. Leipzig 30[59] has the following colophon אני יעקב בן יהודה אני כתבתיה במגדל אלוץ והעתיקו מלשון הגרי לעברי החכם ר' משה בן החכם הפלוסוף הר"ר שמואל בן תבון הספרדי ז"ל. Steinschneider (Hebräische Uebersetzungen 931 and Arabische Literatur p. 212) accordingly enumerates this letter among the Arabic writings of Maimonides.

It is *a priori* most improbable that Maimonides should have answered in Arabic a Hebrew letter of scholars whose ignorance of Arabic he might at least consider most likely if not certain. The whole correspondence mentioned above is in Hebrew except for one partly Arabic letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon in connection with the latter's translation of the Moreh. Wherever Maimonides refers in our letter to the Moreh or the commentary to the Mishnah, he expressly states that these works are written in Arabic assuming evidently that they were inaccessible to his correspondents.

This general consideration is supported by internal evidence. A careful reading of the text does not betray any of the characteristics of a translation which are so evident in the works of the Tibbonites. We do find occasional Arabisms, but they are no more frequent or pronounced than in the other Hebrew writings of Maimonides. We frequently come across שם[60] in the sense of the Arabic תם for 'there is', but we meet this word also in the very beginning of the Mishneh Torah. (B[61] 121) אצל is used like the Arabic عند e.g. שקר הוא אצלנו (§24 etc.); מלך מן הערבים (§27) and many other expressions also show Arabic influence.

[59] Cat. Delitzsch p. 294-5. According to the latter the MS. was written in Montpellier, while Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 59, suggests Alais, (Gard).

[60] In several places one or the other MS. reads אין שום instead of אין שם.

[61] B and page refers to Bacher's two papers: *Der sprachliche Charakter des Mischne Tora*, Appendix to his *Aus dem Wörterbuche Tanchum Jeruschalmi's* (Budapest, 1903), p. 117-46 and: *Zum sprachlichen Charakter des Mischne Tora* in the collective work *Moses ben Maimon*, II (Leipzig, 1914) p. 280-305.

The use of Biblical verses and phrases of which Bacher (291-94) gives numerous examples, is not infrequent. The beginning of the letter is sufficient evidence. Compare also השרידים אשר ה' קורא (§6, cf. Joel, 3, 5); לשקר עשה עט סופר (ib. cf. Jer. 8,8); כי לא כדרכנו דרכיו ולא כמחשבותינו מחשבותיו (§25, cf. Is. 55, 8); הפציר בי עד בוש (§29, cf. II Kings, 2, 17); יראה זרע ויאריך ימים (ib. cf. Is. 53, 10). We equally find many instances of the application of synonyms, a few of them also occurring in Bacher's list (294-296) from the Mishneh Torah such as גוף וגויה (§16), דברי בעלי השכל והמדע (§12), מהתלים ושוחקים ומלעיבים (§10; Bacher הכירו והבינו (שחוק והתול, (ib.; Bacher עד שיבין ויכיר). I further note: רודפים אחרי החכמות ומחפשים בחדרי החבונות (§2), טהר נפשם ויפי דעתם[62] (§10, 27), שקר וכזב (§6), הבל וריק (§5), בדעתו ובמחשבתו (ib.), דין ומשפט (§20, 25), etc. Of expressions which Bacher listed as characteristic of Maimonides I noticed the following in our letter ארץ with accusative (§20 מאורעות שארעו בני אדם) though mostly with ל (B. 282), בארנו (B. ib.), דעות for morals, (§2; B. 283), דת religion (§9; cf. הפסד בדת §18; B. 127) ודאית (§11; B. 127), טבע (frequently; B. 128), מסלול and נטייה in astronomical sense (§11; B. 131-2), מצא for exist (§14; cf. המציא create §15, 17; B. 131), סבה and עלה (§19; B. 133-4), the plural ענינות (§11, 16, 21; B. 123, 287), עקר (frequently; B. 134), נפסד (§13; B. 135). To these לארות פריו (§28) may be added since Ben Jehuda s. v. ארה I 387 cites in addition to several examples from Moses ibn Ezra, one from the *Mishneh Torah*. It is interesting that the copyist of A added to this word the marginal note כ"מ ונ"ל (כך מצאתי ונראה לי) לאכול. In קובץ II 26 we actually read לאכול. The cumulative evidence of all these points together with the general considerations advanced before seem to refute completely the unsupported statement of the scribe of the Leipzig MS.

In this connection a few linguistic peculiarities of our letter may be pointed out. The absolute הגיעה without object §1[63] is peculiar and was corrected by some copyists. חבר ב (§9) to write on (without ספר) and הפלוסופים שחברו בחכמות (§10) equally gave occasion to scribal emendations. §6 we find הבליות while elsewhere

[62] For the latter expression see B. 285.

[63] See also the passage quoted from another letter in note 50.

the common הבלים is used. The term used by Maimonides for minerals, מחצבות, מחצב §17, 19, deserves attention; it even escaped Ben Jehuda, though Goldenthal[64] recorded it.

IV

Manuscripts Used for the Present Edition

A. the question of the provencal rabbis.

This letter is found in a unique MS. of the Seminary Library containing the end of a treatise on the ten martyrs in Arabic, the Arabic original of Maimonides' letter to Yemen, an unpublished letter of Maimonides to his pupil Joseph Ha-Maarabi (Ibn Aknin) about objections of Samuel ben Ali about the Sabbath Laws and the beginning of the letter to Joseph bar Abu Kheir ibn Gabir (קובץ, II fol. 16f.). Between the last of these two Arabic texts the only Hebrew part of the Codex, our letter, is inserted with the Arabic heading. נסכה כתאב ארסלוה עלמא בלאד אלאפראנג אלי רב נו משה הרב הגדול מאור הגולה נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים ב"ר מימון הדיין זצ"ל יסאלונה ען קציא אלנגום וחדיתהם (margin וחירתהם) פיהא (Text of the letter of the scholars of France to R. Moses... ben Maimon... in which they asked him about the determination of the stars and their embarrassment). The MS. is written in Yemen, probably in the 16th century in clear and even rabbinic characters. It has the curious inscription זה הספר מצאתי בק"ק גובר על מערת אליהו על כן לקחתי אותה. I have divided the text into paragraphs and only corrected the evident mistakes.

B. maimonides' letter

The following MSS. were at my disposal either in rotographs secured by Dr. Friedlaender or in the original:

1) B. The first copy in MS. British Museum 27131 Fol. 79b–84b[65]. (=Almanzi 238 XI, HB V, 147,) in which the letter is

[64] Goldenthal, *Grundzüge und Beiträge zu einem sprachvergleichenden, rabbinisch-philosophischen Wörterbuche*, (Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philosophisch-historischen Klasse 1854, p. 440). See now J. Klatzkin, אנתולוגיה של הפלוסופיה העברית, Berlin 1926, p. 3 and 305.

[65] Omitted in Margoliouth's Catalogue III.

written twice. This text has the heading הנה זאת תשובת השאילה אשר שלח הרב הגדול רבי משה בן הרב ר' מימון זצ"ל מארץ מצרים אל חכמי נשלמה אגרת הפלוסוף האמתי הרב הגדול רבי' משה and closes הארץ הזאת בן מימון זצ"ל.

2) D. In the same MS., fol. 85-90a, follows a second text headed אגרת אחרת השלוחה מאת הרב ז"ל לחכמי מונטפישלר חכמי ההר. Both are written in somewhat similar Italian Rabbinic characters, but not by the same hand. The whole MS. according to Luzzato is done by two hands, the second 1548, the other older.

3) H. MS. Halberstam 456 in the Sulzberger Collection in the Seminary Library,[66] two collections of letters; the first mostly by Joseph of Arles (middle of the 16th century), includes f. 5-8 our letter with the heading אגרת הרמב"ם..והיא תשובת שאלה אשר שלח מארץ מצרים אל חכמי מונפישליר. The MS. is in a small somewhat more cursive Italian Rabbinic hand.

4) M. Cod. Munich 315 fol. 23-24 headed אגרת ששלח הרב הגדול רבי משה ע"ה לחכמי מונפישליר, Italian Rabbinic characters, perhaps 15th century according to Steinschneider.

5) A. Besides these Italian MSS. which all belong to one class, a different type of text is represented by MS. Adler 2405 in the Jewish Theological Seminary.[67] This interesting Codex contains mostly philosophical texts and a large part is devoted to the smaller works of Maimonides. Thus we find his introduction to the Mishna (fol. 1-27), the anonymous translation of his commentary on פ' חלק (28-38), the treatise on resurrection (40-48a); the eight chapters and the commentary on *Abot* (52b-89); a number of *Responsa* of Maimonides (206-34 and 243-44) of which, as a later hand noted on the margin, fols. 206-10, 212-15,[68]

[66] See on this MS. which he bought from R. N. Rabbinowitz's Catalogue 8 of תרמ"ה אלול כ"ב nr. 6 Halberstam in *Festschrift Steinschneider*, Leipzig 1896, Hebrew part, p. 7, note.

[67] See E. N. Adler's Catalogue, Cambridge 1922, p. 82-83. From this MS. I have published the ששה משלים, Berlin 1924.

[68] About fols. 215-23 see above note 30. The responsa of Maimonides are interrupted, fol. 235-41, by the letter of the Nasi Sheshet ben Isaac ben Joseph of Saragossa to the scholars of Lunel in defense of the Mishneh Torah (cf. *MGWJ* XXV 509-12; H.B. XVII, 65; Brüll's *Jahrbücher* IV, 6 note ***; MS. Paris 708; Oxford 2670). I hope to publish this letter at some other occasion.

225-34 are printed in אגרות הרמב"ם Venice 1544 f. 70-92, fol. 242-44 ib. 66-68; the אגרת השמד 276-82.

The scribe of this MS. which is written in beautiful Greek Rabbinic characters is Dosa ben Joseph. He states that the copy of the commentary of Abot was finished Wednesday Rosh Hodesh Adar 1461 in פולי (fol. 90b) and on the same page has a poem written by him in Sofia and on the following one written when he came to Constantinople with his brother Moses and another made during the sea voyage from Chios to Candia. Fol. 182a at the end of משרת משה he states that he finished the copy in Ellul 1461 in Constantinople. He frequently indicates his name by putting dots over the letter דוסא at the beginnings of subsequent, though not consecutive lines, e.g. in our letter fol. 245b. Biblical verses are generally indicated by dots on the top of every word. Our letter is found fol. 245-46a headed עוד לו זצ"ל כתב תשובת לחכמי קהל עיר מרשילה על שאלתם י"א. This text practically agrees in every detail with

6) C. ed. Constantinople (1517?) fol. 2-3, a text which all the following editions repeat. If MS. A had been accessible to the printer he undoubtedly would have included the אגרת השמד and the correspondence with R. Jonathan on the *Mishneh Torah* into his collection. But the close relationship of his texts to A shows convincingly that both go back to a common source. While not adding new readings MS. A is of importance as showing that the printer closely followed his MS. and did not make any additions, as we otherwise would have suspected.

The class represented by A C is clearly inferior to that of the Italian MSS. and had to be generally disregarded in establishing the text. A glance at the numerous variants from this source will show that it is full of later additions and amplifications (indicated by square brackets) and greatly adds to the number of synonyms employed by Maimonides. It is superfluous to quote examples. One insertion may be pointed out here. Maimonides sums up §17 the views of the three philosophical schools he had enumerated §§13-15. Through homoioteleuton the first of these was omitted in an early copy (as it happened in B) and thus only two views were found. In order to complete the evidently defective text the gap was filled by repeating the full account of

the first group from §13 but putting it in the third place. Accordingly the order of the groups is reversed and the view of one is completely repeated in A and C. Here we get convincing evidence that we have an interpolated version before us. The repetition of the author's signature (occurring §1) at the end of §28 is also noteworthy.

While the readings of A C are fully given under the text it did not seem necessary to record differences in the divine names הצור-הבורא-האל-הקב"ה in which considerable arbitrariness is shown by the MSS., nor to note the 'ת regularly added in A C. These texts also commonly use כי where the others have ש, they occasionally offer אשר for ש etc. Such minutiae as well as all matters of orthography were omitted though the apparatus is fairly full. Anything that might bear on the linguistic habits of Maimonides as differences in construction (e.g. §6 מודיע אתכם—מודיע לכם) I considered worth recording. If we had a comprehensive study on the language of Maimonides one might dispense with a good many variants.

In the Italian group H and M have frequently singular readings, sometimes agreeing with A C while B seems to be closest to a general consensus and the best representative of the group. D is similar to B, but in many details inferior. Originally I had copied H and collated the other texts on the margin, but when I came to construct the text I found it unreliable and after some hesitating efforts to establish a mixed text came to the conclusion that the methodically correct proceding would be to take B as a basis and only deviate from it where its readings are evidently faulty.

For the beginning and end of the letter I had before me a collation of MSS. Brit. Mus. 904 VI and 1081 XXI (Cat. p. 477) Friedlaender had made on the margin of the קובץ תשובות הרמב"ם in Oct. 1911. As these MSS. offered no new readings I did not consider it worth while to increase the apparatus by more sigla.[69]

[69] That comparison of other MSS. will yield different readings is very likely. A comparison of the quotations in Moses Alashkar's השגות to Shem Tob ibn Shem Tob's ספר האמונות in his *Responsa* (Sabionetta 1554) fol. 192a shows some. He quotes §20 (where he reads e.g. שבעלי דת האמת...יאמינו for

It may only be stated that the old Codex 904, which bears the date 1273, is directed to Marseilles and does not have the opening quotation from Canticles, while 1081 in some points closely agrees with M. Neither of the two MSS has §§29-30, which are only found in B and H, §29 also in D. They are also found in Codex Vienna (V)[70] 141[7] and in Luzzatto's MS. of ארחות חיים חלק ב' (L)[71] from which the variants are given. The address, §31, is only found in V and L, in the former at the beginning and in L at the end. The latter place seems more fitting and it is accordingly added there in this edition.

In the various readings parentheses stand for omissions, square brackets for additions. Where it was not evident to which word of the text a variant belonged the text-word was repeated with a half bracket.

So much about the present edition of Maimonides' answer which I hope is justified not only by the combination with the question of the Provençal Rabbis which is published here for the first time, but also by the new text which is in many respects superior to that of the current editions.

For the convenience of the reader both texts are divded into short paragraphs, though a certain arbitrariness could not be avoided.

יאמרו), §23 (where he reads בורסקי like M and has the same omission by homoioteleuton as this MS.) and parts of §24-25.

The quotation in Moses Narboni's commentary on the *Moreh* III ch. 49, ed. Goldenthal p. 64, taken from §7 though claiming to be from the end of the letter seems so inexact that it was probably made from memory.

[70] See A. Z. Schwarz's new catalogue p. 154.

[71] See S. D. Luzzato in מגד ירחים, II, Lemberg 1856, p. 69-70; פניני שד"ל, Przemysl 1888, p. 85-86. The MS. was later Codex Halberstam nr. 52 = Hirschfeld nr. 131. Both catalogues do not enumerate the texts copied at the end of the ארחות חיים. The letter is also found at the end of Günzburg's MS. of the same work (see above note 36) which only seems to contain the date §29 but not §30-31 found in MS. Luzzatto-Halberstam. In the MS. forming the basis of Schlesinger's edition of ארחות חיים ח"ב, (Berlin, 1902), these additions are not found; see his introduction p. XXIII.

B. TEXTS

I. Letter of the Rabbis of Southern France published from the unique MS. of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

1 לפנים בישראל כה אמר האיש בלכתו לכו ונעלה עד הרואה. ויורנו מדרכיו. ונלכה באורחותיו. לדעת לעות את יעף דבר. ולברר התבן מן הבר. וחלפו זמנים בצוק העתים. וגרמו העונות ונהרסו ממגורות ההכמות. ונפלו המדרגות. ותשאר החכמה סורה וגולה. אין מנהל לה. עד אשר שלח האלהים מושיע. מענלי צדק מודיע. ויבן מגדל השכל והתבונה. ואין קצה לתכונה. אז יצאה החכמה ותלבש בגדי מלכות ורקמה.1 כי הצור ריחמה. ויתן לה הריון. לאות ולחזיון. ותלד בן יקיר. אשר יגדיל תורה ויאדיר. פלא גבור אבי עד שר שלום שמו. ותהי המשרה על שכמו. והיה צדק אזור מתניו. והאמונה אזור הלציו. ויפתח חדרי התורה להאיר עינים. ועשה להה2 אזנים. הקים בחוניה. פסג ארמנותיה. שם ינוחו יגיעי כח. וימצאו מנוח. אל ההר הטוב הזה והלבנון אשר שם עץ הדעת. ותארכנה פארותיו. וייף בגדלו באורך דליותיו. מים גדלוהו. תהום רוממתהו. שם ירבצו עניי הצאן הנדחה והצולעה. כי זאת המרגעה. וכל הלשונות כבידות. והשפתים עמוקות. להאריך ולהעריך את יקר תפארת מורנו ורבנו משה החכם המופלג בן הרב הגדול רבינו מימון זצ"ל אשר אין קץ לשבחיו. ואין מספר לגדודיו. מעלותיו וגזרת ספיר ספריו. הן הן שלוחיו. הן הן עדיו. אלהים שלחו למחיה. להצמיח ולהפריח ארץ ציה ברביב חכמתו. ויורה צדקו. המקום ברחמיו יאריך ימיו ושנותיו וימלא משאלותיו.

2 ועתה רבינו אדונינו גאונינו נר ישראל מאיר עיני הגולה הנה עבדיך אלה השוכנים3 באהלי ארץ אדום באו מארץ רחוקה לשבור אוכל מאוצר חכמתיך ולשאוב ממעין תבונותיך. ועלה על לב קצת מבני חבורתינו לשאול מלפני אדונינו על מה שאמרו רבותינו ז"ל4 אין מזל לישראל וראינו לר' שרירא ולר' האיי ז"ל בתשובת שאלה כלשון הזה5 ובעלי אסטגנינות החזים בכוכבים אינון תרין גוני. אית מנהון מאן דתאלי כל מילי במזל ואמרין אפילו תנודות של אדם ואפילו רחשישי תליין במזל ומן התם הוא דנחתי להכא ולפום מא דאית התם אית הכא וכל עיסקי דארעא כמין מטבע של שעוה דמונח6 להחתם. ומזלות שמים כמין חותם שמכנים אותם וטובעין בדיוקני שלו דלא מוסיף [ולא גרע]7 ואילין לית בהון מאן דמודה בהקב"ה ומובדלים הם מדברים שלנו. ואיכא מנהון גונא8 אחרינא דאמרין אדם

1 כ"י ורגמה. 2 כ"י לו. 3 כ"י השוכני. 4 שבת קנ"ו ע"א.
5 שו"ת הגאונים הוצאת הרכבי סי' ש"צ צד 207 שו' ב'–ט"ו בשנויים קטנים.
6 שם דר ונח וצריך להגיה כטו שהוא כאן. 7 חסר בכ"י 8 שם גנסא

עושה בחכמתו דברים שלא המזל גרמן ויכול בדעתו לכוף מאי דגרם המזל. והוו נמי תרי גוני מנהון מאן9 דתאלי לה למילתא בנפשו שלאדם ואומ' שנפשו ורוחו שלאדם עליונות היא וגוהר שלה ועיקרה למעלה מן הכוכבים והמזלות ויכולה היא ואף הוא יכול בכוחה לשנויי מה דגרם מזל. ומנהון מאן דתאלי למילתא ברבון העולמים ב"ה ואומר דברא10 באדם יכולת לכוף מה שגרם מזלו. ובין להני ובין להני דהאי גיסא8 אחרון דגרים11 מזל הם אתי בעידניה לאילין12 יכול אדם למשתי מקראני ומצטנן בהון13 ולאילין דהקב"ה כדניחא קמיה לאצילויה14 ולמדחי מיניה דחי.

3 וכן ראינו בתשובת הגאונים ז"ל אשר הזכרנו לפני רבינו וכלשונה נאמרה. ויש מתחכמים בדבר ואומרים כדברי הגאונים ז"ל ולא נאמרו אלא במי שראוי לבוא עליו חולי חם בזמן ידוע כפי מערכת15 כוכבי מולדו ויכול קודם לכן להשמר ולשתות משקיות קרים לצנן ולישר תולדות גופו. אבל מי שנגזרה עליו מיתה ביום ידוע כפי מערכת כוכבי מולדו לא תועיל שמירה קודם לכן.

4 ודבר זה לא תסבול דעתינו ולא תכלכל מחשבותינו כי לפי דבריהם יהיה ענין גזרות הכוכבים והמזלות כאחד ממנהגי התולדות המתוקנות בעולם למן היום אשר ברא אלהים אדם אין להוסיף ואין לגרוע. ולעניות דעתינו ומיעוט שכלינו מי שעומד על זאת הסברא מניא לב אנשי התורה ונועל דלת בפני בעלי התפלה כי כל אחד ואחד בלבו ישית איך16 ישתנו עליו17 סדרי בראשית לצאת מגבול גזרות מערכות הכוכבים והמזלות וישים בקרבו מחשב לדמות אותן שאמרו ז"ל18 הרי זו תפלת שוא.

5 ובעוונותינו אין הדורות האלה ראויין לכך שישנה השם תולדות העולם בעבורם. ואם יעברו תחת שבט19 הכוכבים ומבטם20 הלמתים תעשה פלא לחיותם על דברת בני האדם אשר תולדותם חלושה מיום הולדם ואין במטבעם שיחיו21 שנים רבות. לא דברנו רק על מיתה הנגזרת על גוף האדם במשפטי הכוכבים וטבעו חזק ובריא ויורו עליו הכוכבים מיתה משונה או מיתה עצמה או שאר מקרים קשים. ואין ראוי שיבוא עליו כי אם על ידי סבה או פשיעה ולא מחלישות תולדות גופו אשר ביום הבראו כוננו.

6 על דבר זה הציקתנו רוח בטנינו ותמהנו מה נשתנה דבר חכמת המזלות משאר החכמות כי בחכמות הרפואות יש יתרון גדול בעולם אבל בזאת החכמה רב כעס. ולא עוד אלא שאלה החכמים הורסים יסודות22 האמונה אם ישימו ענין המזלות כיתד שלא תמוט. לפי דבריהם ידמו קצת בני אדם תפלותם לאותן שאמרו רבותינו ז"ל18 הרי זו תפלת שוא. לפי שאין אדם עושה צדקה ומתפלל על המת שיחיה. ולפי סברתם קצת הנבראים קרואים מתים בחיים. ואמנם החיים והעושר והשמחה מאת הבורא יבוקשו. ואע"פ שיש בדבר רבותינו ז"ל23 חיי ובני ומזוני לא בזכותא

9 בכ"י מאי. 10 בכ"י ויברא. 11 שם כד גארים. 12 בכ"י לולאין.
13 שם מוסיף: ולא חיים גופיה. 14 ובכ"י לאצלויה. 15 constellation
16 כ"י אך 17 כ"י על 18 ברכות פ"ט מ"ג 19 כ"י השבט 20 Aspect
21 כ"י שיהיו. 22 כ"י סודות. 23 מו"ק כ"ח ע"א.

תליא מילתא אלא במזלא תליא מילתא. אין דעתינו רחבה כל כך להבין דבריהם ולפרוק משא הקושיות אשר בתלמוד נמצאות. ובכמה מקומות בתורה בנביאים ובכתובים ובדברי רבותינו ז"ל נמצא כי הזכות תועיל בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא. וראינו בדברי רבינו שרירא ורבינו האיי גאון ז"ל בתשובה שסמכו על מי שאמר אין מזל לישראל.

7 על כן משתדלים אנו לחקור מלפני רבינו גאונינו להודיענו האמת על כל הרע שיורינו חכמי המזלות. אם יודעים לכל זמן ואם אפשר להשמר קודם לכן על פי חכם. כי נמצא בספרי החכמים אם תהיה מערכת כוכב פלוני ופלוני במקום פלוני יארע לו כך ואם כוכב פלוני יארע כך. ויש בהם[24] שפירשו הנזק. ויש שלא יפרשו הנזק מה הוא ומאין יבוא ומתי יהיה.

8 ובאנו לכתוב קצת מפרטיהם ואלו הן: ימות בחולים משונים. ימות [ועל ידי][25] הלסטין. יעמוד בבית הסהר. ימות עם אנשים רבים במיתה משונה. מום קבוע יהיה לו. יוקח ממונו. יסבב סבות ויהרוג עצמו. ילקח בדרך. ילך בשביה. יבוא עליו הרע בחצי ימיו. אחריתו אל טובה. צרות רבות יעברו עליו. לעולם יהיה עני. יעמוד כל ימיו בשממון ובדאגה ובפחד המות. או חולי קבוע יהיה באחד[26] מאחיו. ימותו כל אחיו בחייו. ימותו[27] רוב בניו. ויש כמה מקרים אחרים. חרב. אש. ומים. חיות רעות. מפולת. נפילה ממקום[28] גבוה וכמה ענינים רעים.

9 ועליהן ועל אלה אנו חוקרין מלפני רבינו אדונינו אם יכול חכם לדעת תחלת הפורענות בכל אלה העתידות אשר הזכרנו. ואם יש תועלת להציל אדם מרעתו בכל גזירה לפי ענינה. וגם כי ידי חכמי המזלות יסודין אם יוכלו להבחין אם יבואו בידי אדם או בידי שמים. ולענין הצרות והעניות והשממון והדאגה ופחד המות אשר הזכרנו לפני אדונינו יודיענו אם יש רפואה לדברים הללו.

10 ונמצא בספרי החכמים כי במולד הבן יכירו מזל האב בכרת[29] חייו ומקריו. ויודיענו מרינו אם יכירו כל עניין אחי הנולד הן לטובה הן לרעה כמו שיכירו עניין אבי הנולד ובניו. כוכב פלוני יורה על הגדולים פלוני על האמצעיים ופלוני על הקטנים ואלו[30] באח מה יורו. וגם אנו שואלים כי יקרה[31] לפניכם מערכת כוכבים פלוני שיורו שימות[32] כל אחיו בימיו או ימותו רוב בניו אם יוכלו לדעת באיזה מיתה. אם יבינו סדר מיתתם הגדול לפי גדלו והקטן לפי קטנו מתי ימות זה ואחר כך ימות זה. וגם כשידינו חולי קבוע יהיה באחד מאחיו אם יבינו מה הוא ומי הוא ומתי יהיה.

11 וגם אנו חוקרים אם מה שיכירו באחים יכירו באחי האב כי נרמז בספריהם הבית השלישי יורה על הקרובים והחתנים ולא פירשו יותר. גם נזדמן בספרי הכמתם בבית הרביעי גורל האב וגורל אבי האב. ואחרי כן כשהרויחו[33] לפרש כל ענין האב לא דברו מאומה. ועל זה אנו שואלים אם יכירו כל עניין אבי האב כמו עניין האב.

24 כ"י בם. 25 ליתא בכ"י. 26 כ"י באחיו. 27 כ"י ימות. 28 כ"י נפילת מקום.
29 הכרת? 30 כ"י ולא. 31 כ"י ויקרא. 32 כ"י וימותו. 33 כ"י הרויחו.

12 ויודיענו רבינו גאונינו מאור עינינו אם יש תועלת והצלה בכל אלה שהזכרנו על פי חכם לפי שיודע מזלו כדי שנוכל לומר על מי שאינו יודיע מזלו שלא תדמה תפלתו לאותן שאמרו רבותינו ז"ל[18] הרי זו תפלת שוא.

13 ושמענו בשם חכמי המזלות כי מי שנולד במערכת רעה יועיל לו שינוי מקום ואם אמת הוא יודיענו אדונינו אם אפשר שינצל[34] מכל הרע הנגזר עליו כפי מערכת כוכב מולדו בשנוי מקומו. וגם יודיענו מרינו אם המרחק שוה לכל המזלות אשר הם במערכת רעה או אם יש מולד אחד שצריך להרחיק יותר ממולד אחר. ואם אמת נכון הדבר יודיענו אדונינו המרחק הראוי להיות שוה לכל.

14 וגם שמענו בשם פילוסוף אחד ישמעאל אשר היה בארצנו שאמר אין כח בשום חכם מחכמי המזלות לגזור על בירור כך וכך יהיה. לפי שיש לגלגל העליון כחות משתנים לרגעים על הנבראים כמו שיש לכוכבים ולמזלות. ואין אדם יכול לעמוד בהן. ופעמים שכוחות גלגל העליון יחליפו כח הכוכבים להפך. ודבר זה לא נמסר להבחין לשום חכם בעולם. על כן לא יוכל אדם לדון במשפטי הכוכבים דבר נכון ומאדוננו[35] לא נעלם דבר. והוא יודע סוף דברי הפילוסוף אם יש ממש בדבריו.

15 וגם שמענו שיש מחכמי המזלות שידינו על פי שאלת אדם אע"פ שלא ידעו מולדו ויש מן החכמים שאמרו כי השאלות אין בהן ממש. וזה טעמם כי כל מה שיקרה בתחתונים הוא בעבור תנועות העליונות על הנבראים כפי תולדותם. ובעבור שנשמת האדם עליונה יוכל להשמר ולהוסיף וגם לגרוע על כן לא יורו העליונים על כל השאלות שתעלה על לב האדם. ויש הכמים אחרים שאמרו כי דיני השאלות בכוכבים [יש בהם ממש][36]: וזה טעמם כי מחשבות הנפש תשתנה כפי השתנות תולדות הגוף. והנה כח הנשמה יתהפך כפי התהפך כח הגוף ואחר שהכוכבים יורו על תולדות הגוף והתהפכו הנה נוכל לדעת המחשבות והשאלות.

16 ויורינו מורינו דעתו אם יש ממש בדיני השאלות ואם יש אדם שגמר בלבו וגלה דעתו שאין רצונו לשאול ולדעת מזלו מטוב ועד רע. ואחרי אשר ידעו אנשים שאין רצונו בכך יבואו וישאלו עליו שלא בפניו. לולי שידעו שכך דעתו לא היו שואלים עליו. יגיד לנו מורינו אם השאלה ההיא נכונה כשאר שאלות לפי דעת החכמים המורים בדיני השאלות.

17 וגם באנו לחקור מלפני רבינו מאור עינינו על דבר אחר כי יש חכמים אשר יגידו הרע הראוי לבוא במשפטי הכוכבים אבל אין חכמתם רחבה כל כך לדעת שורש דבר ותחלת הפורענות מתי תהיה לא בדיני השאלות ולא בדיני המולדות. ואם יתכן בעיני מורינו להורות ולהראות כלל אחד אשר ממנו יצא תלמוד לכל הגזרות מתי תבואנה יבוא נא דבר אדונינו אולי יועיל להסתר ביום אף ה'.

18 אם דבר זה הוא עמוק שלא נוכל להתבונן יכתוב אדונינו בלשון חכמתו. אולי יבינו וילמדו חכמי ארצינו אשר דרכו בדרך החכמה הזאת. ואנחנו הכותבים

34 כ"י שינצלו. 35 כ"י ומאוד. 36 חסר בכ"י.

לפני רבינו לא נסינו ללכת בדרך אלה ההכמות ולבינו קטון מהכיל העולה על לב החכמים. וכל מה שהזכרנו לא הזכרנו רק על פי השמועה וכל מה שיתכן לפני מורינו להבינו מכל מה ששאלנו יבאר לנו באר היטב.

19 והוזקקנו רבינו לשאל מלפני כבודך בכל אלה לישר אורחינו ולאור עינינו ולחכמינו. כי אתה רגלים לפסח ועיני עור תפקח. ומושכות[37] כסיל תפתח. וידעו תועי רוח בינה ורוגנים ילמדו לקח. ואשרי אנשיך העומדים לפניך השומרים את חכמתיך תשקם מטל עדניך והיו באוכלי שולחניך.

20 מכנף הארץ זמירות [שמענו][38] שמעך. וכל העולם מכריז טבעך. הוד והדר עטריך. ותורה וחכמה וענוה כתריך. אתה חותם תכנית מלא חכמות עצומות ותמצא כקן ידך לאסוף בגזי שכלך כולם נקבצו אליך. ועתה רבינו אדונינו גאונינו מחול על כבודך ויבוא נא דברך הטוב לנו. והוד[39] ממך תצא תורה להורות הדרך הישרה. ומסור לנו מפתח אחד על כל מה ששאלנו והיה לפתח ולתועלת גדולה להסיר כמה ספיקות ולהשקיט שאון תמהון הלבבות. וחבר לנו רבינו הדברים האלה כללים ופרטים מפורשים כדי שנוכל להבין.

21 ואם נא מצאנו חן בעיניך השיבנו על ראשון ראשון ועל אחרון אחרון ולא יחסר דברי והנה כתבנו[40] לפני אדונינו בענין המולדות דברים. ושאלנו מלפניו אם יש תועלת להנצל מהם ומכל רע אשר יורו חכמי המזלות. וגם הזכרנו לפני רבינו שאם יתכן לפניו להורות כלל אחד ללמוד ממנו דרך התועלת לכל גזרה וגזרה לפי ענינה יכתוב אדונינו בלשון חכמתו. ואם לא נבין אנחנו אולי יבינו וילמדו חכמי ארצינו. וכל מה שיתכן לפני מורינו להשיב על כל מה ששאלנו מפורש ושום שכל ישיב כדי שנוכל להבין כי לא נסינו ללכת בדרך זו החכמה והיא רחוקה ממנו. וגם שאלנו מלפני גאונינו אם יועיל שינוי מקום וגם הזכרנו דברי הפילוסוף. וגם חקרנו בדברי דיני השאלות שני דרכים. וכתבנו דברים בענין אחי הנולד ובניו וענין אחי האב אם יבינו מדת ימיו ומקריו על העתיד כמו מן האב וגם מאבי האב נשאל אם יכירו.

22 על הכל יתן עינו אדונינו הרב הגדול מאיר עינינו להשיב על כל דברי האגרת הזאת. כי עבדיך באו מארץ רחוקה לשאול[41] מלפני כבודך. על כן אדונינו מחול על כבודך והשיבנו על כל שאילתינו בכתב רשום אמת ולא יחסר דבר כדי שלא נצטרך לשאול פעם אחרת.

23 וכמה דברים נשאלו מלפני הגאונים הראשונים זכרם לברכה והם ענו[42] את הכל וגם אתה תתן בידינו ותבוא נא שאלותינו כי עיני כל ישראל עליך. ואשרי המחכה ויגיע לראות תשובתך היקרה והמאירה. והיה זה שלום כי תעבור בארצינו ותנוח לגורלינו. וחיים רב לאדונינו הרב הגדול לעולם אשר ממנו דבר לא נעלם דורש טוב לעמו ודובר שלום לכל זרעו.

24 כבר שלחנו אגרות אחרות לפני רבינו ולא ידענו אם הגיעו לידו ויש באגרת הזאת דברים שלא היו באחרות. והיו באחרות דברים שאנו מסתפקין אם יתכן

37 ומשוכות. 38 חסר בכ"י. 39 והנה? 40 כ"י כחוב זו. 41 כ"י מלשאול.
42 כ"י והיסענו.

בעיני מרינו להשיב עליהן. והוא ענין אשר נמצא בספרי הכמי המזלות. וכן אמרו לעולם במולד אדם מקום הלבנה ברגע המולד היא המעלה הצומחת ברגע רדת הטפה ברחם. [ובמעלה][43] הצומחת ברגע המולד שם היתה הלבנה ברגע [רדה][43] הטפה. על כן לו[44] ידענו רגע הטפה נוכל לדעת רגע המולד. ואם ידענו רגע המולד נוכל לדעת מתי היה רגע הטפה. ואמרו חכמים[45] רובי הנולדים הם בקרוב מתשעה חדשים ומעכד הקצר רנ"ם. והאמצעי רג"ע. והארוך רפ"ז. ופעמים רפ"ו ופעמים ר"ף. והרויחו בחכמתם ונתנו פנים בכל זמן וכתבו דברים אחרים ארוכים שאין בנו כח להבין והכם אחד הוסיף מדעתו והראה שני דרכים בחכמת הכוכבים ואמר כי פעמים שיצא הנולד קודם שבעת ימים מימי המעמד והאריך בדברי ההכמה אשר פליאה דעת ממנו נשגבה לא נוכל לה.

25 ויודיענו אדונינו אשר ממנו לא נכחד כל דבר אם יוכל חכם בהכמת[46] ההזיון לבהור בעת היריון שעה ידועה או הצי שעה או שליש שעה פנויה מכל נזק ותחלת יום או תחלת [לילה][47] שהיא שעה שאדם יכול לעמוד בה שתהיה ראוי לה תחלת כל דבר. ויוכל לכוין שיבוא המולד בעת רצון. וטוב הדבר מאד אפילו לא יוכל לבהור אלא יום אחד בכל שנה ושנה לבני דורו למכפר השנים הבאות עד שבעים שנה או פחות או יתר כפי אשר השיג הכמתו לחשבון הצריך לו לכל הזמנים הראויים למעמד הולד. והנה הורנו רבנו[47a] ז"ל[48] להשמר[49] מן הכוכב המזיק בשעת משלו.

26 ואם יהכן בעיני רבינו להשיב על זה ישיב ויכתוב בכתב אחד בפני עצמו בדבר אין ראוי למסור אלא לצנועים. ואם ישר בעיני רבינו מענה כן ישלחנו[50] מנאמן שיבוא לנאמן עד בואו למקום אחד ששמו מונטפשליר הסמוך לעיר נרבונא[51] ועיר מרשיליא. ואם יאבה השם למלאת תאותינו שנראה כתב מאדוננו[52] יהי נכתב ונחתם לאות אמת בשם הרב ר' יהונתן מרבני ארצינו והסידיה.

27 ואם בדבר שאלותינו חתת דברי פינו טכלות ואחרית דברינו כסילות והעתרנו דברים לפני רבינו ולא דברנו כראוי לפניו הוא בחסדו ימחול על כבודו על מה שיחכן בעיני מורינו להשיב ישיב דברי הפץ וכתוב יושר דברי אמת על כל מה ששאלנו להאיר עינינו ולשמח נפשינו. ויראה לנו דרך שלא נהוש לנסיונות הכמי המזלות. כי יש בינינו מי שגבר עליו מרה[53] שחורה במחשב על אלו השאלות אשר שאלנו באגרת הזאת ועל הכל ישלח דבריו אדונינו לא יהסר דבר.

28 ואחרי אשר ימתיק בסוד דבריו הגעימים ונשמע מאהו האמת נסמוך עליו מן הכל ונקבל כהלכה למשה מסיני. ויהיו דבריו לששון ולשמחה לבב ותהי לשון חכמינו מרפא לקיים עולם מלא ועל מרינו נאונינו החיים והשלום.

43 חסר בכ"י. 44 כ"י לא.

45 בלי ספק חכמי הרופאים כי בתלמוד לא זוכר מספר ימי ההריון כי אם בדברי שמואל (נדה ל"ח ע"א, יר' יבמות פ"ד הי"א) ולדעתו הם רע"א–רע"ד ימים וע' L. Loew, Die Lebensalter, Szegedin 1875 p. 47ff, 374; Preuss, Talmudische Medizin, Berlin 1911, p. 74.

46 כ"י בחכמה. 47 חסר בכ"י. 47a כ"י הורנו. 48 כן בכ"י.

49 כ"י לא שמר. 50 כ"י יסדנו, אולי צ"ל ימסרנו?

51 בכ"י מוטל (ואח"כ מקום פנוי) הסמוך לכפר עיר דדבונא.

52 כ"י מאד. 53 כ"י מדה.

29 ויודע לפני רבינו כי כתב אחד הובא בארצינו מענין ביאת המשיח שיבוא במהרה בימינו ונאמרו הדברים בשמך אשר באו אליך אנשים מארץ מרחק להגיד לך כי שם קם נביא בישראל ודבר על ביאת הגואל ואתה הודעת הדברים לבני פאס בכתב. ולשון כתבך אשר שלחת אליהם נראה בגבולינו וקול החור נשמע בארצינו ולא ידענו אמיתת הדברים. ועתה רבינו גאונינו מחול על כבודך והודיענו העיקר לבשר טוב ולהשמיע שלום. וברכות יעטה מורינו מאת אדון השלום. בימיו תושע יהודה וישראל ישכון לבטח.

II. Maimonides' Letter on Astrology.

Published on the basis of MSS. of the British Museum, the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Library of Munich.

1 מי זאת הנשקפה כמו שחר יפה כלבנה ברה כחמה איומה כנדגלות. הגיעה שאלת אלופינו ומיודעינו החכמים המבינים יודעי דת ודין הדרים במונטפשליר יגן השם בעדם וירבה הכמתם ויגדיל הורתם ויצו אתם את הברכה באסמיהם ובכל משלח ידיהם כחפץ אהיהם ורעיהם המתפלל בעדם השמח בשלותם משה בר' מימון זצ"ל הספרדי:

2 והיא העידה על טוהר נפשם ויפי דעתם ושהם רודפים אחרי ההכמות ומהפשים בחדרי התבונות ורצים לעלות במעלות הידיעות למצא דברי חפץ וכתוב יושר ולהבין הדבר והפשר. תהי יד ה' לעזרם ולפתוח להם כל סתום ולישר כל עקוב אמן:

3 הבנתי באותה השאלה אף על פי שענפיה מרובין כל אותם השרשים אילן אחד הוא עקרם והוא כל דברי הוברי שמים החוזים בככבים. והדבר ידוע שלא הגיע אליכם ההבור שחברנו במשפטי התורה שקראנו שמו משנה תורה. שאלו הגיע אליכם מיד הייתם יודעים דעתי בכל אותם הדברים ששאלתם. שהרי בארנו כל זה הענין בהלכות עבודה זרה וחוקות הגוים (פרק י"א הלכה ח'). וכמדומה לי שיגיע אליכם קודם תשובה זו שכבר פשט באי סקיליא כמו שפשט במזרח ובמערב ובתימן. ועל כל פנים צריך אני לבאר לכם:

1 1 (מ. . . . כנדגלות) AC / 2 הגיעה [אלי] D [אלינו] H / 3 במונפישליר H במדינת מונפשליר M בעיר מרשילה י"א AC / וינדיל [ויאדיר] AC / 4 כרצון אחיהם DM אל אחיהם B / (אחיהם רעיהם) AC / [השש ו]השמח AC.

2 6 (ויפי דעתם) AC / 7 הדעות [הרמות] B הדעות [האמיתיות] ולמצא AC / 8 לעזרכם... לכם B עמם לפתוח כל AC / 9 עקום AC /

3 10 שרינ [שריגי] אילן A / 12 הגיע [עדיין] לידכם AC / שקראתי ACBDM 13 מיד כבר M / 15 [כתב] תשובה C [כתב] תשורה A / 16 [להשיב] לבאר AC /

4 דעו רבותי שאין ראוי לו לאדם להאמין אלא באחד משלשה דברים. הראשון דבר שתהיה עליו ראיה ברורה מדעתו של אדם כגון חכמת החשבון והגמטריאות והתקופות. והשני דבר שישיגנו האדם באחד מחמשת הרגשות כגון שידע בודאי שזה אדום וזה שחור וכיוצא בזה בראיית עינו. או שיטעם שזה מר וזה מתוק או שימשש שזה חם וזה קר. או שישמע שזה קול צרוד וזה קול הברה או שיריח שזה ריח ערב וזה ריח באוש וכיוצא באלו. והשלישי דבר שיקבל אותו האדם מן הנביאים או מן הצדיקים:

5 וצריך כל בעל דעה להלק בדעתו ובמחשבתו כל הדברים שהוא מאמין בהם ויאמר שזה האמנתי בו מפני הקבלה. וזה האמנתי בו מפני ההרגשה וזה האמנתי בו מפני הדעה. וכל מי שיאמין בדבר אחר שאינו משלשת המינים האלו עליו נאמר (משלי י"ד ט"ו) פתי יאמין לכל דבר:

6 וכן צריכים אתם לידע שכבר חברו הטפשים אלפי ספרים בהבל וריק. וכמה אנשים גדולים בשנים לא בחכמה אבדו כל ימיהם בלמידת אותם הספרים ודמו שאותן ההבליות חכמות. ועלה על לבם שהם הכמים מפני שידעו אותן החכמות. שהדבר שטוען בו רוב העולם או הכל אלא אנשים יחידים השרידים אשר ה' קורא הוא הדבר אשר אני מודיע אתכם. והוא החלי הגדול והרעה החולה שכל הדברים שימצא האדם אותם כתובים בספרים יעלה על לבו בתחלה שהם אמת. וכל שכן אם היו הספרים קדמונים. ואם נתעסקו אנשים רבים באותם הספרים ונשאו ונתנו בהם מיד יקפוץ דעתו של נמהר שאלו דברי חכמה ויאמר בלבו וכי לשקר עשה עט סופרים ובחנם נשאו ונתנו באלו הדברים?

7 וזו היא שאבדה מלכותנו והחריבה היכלנו והגיעתנו עד הלום שאבותינו חטאו ואינם לפי שמצאו ספרים רבים באלה הדברים של דברי החוזים בכוכבים שדברים אלו הם עקר עבודה זרה כמו שבארנו בהלכות עבודה זרה. טעו ונהו אחריהן ודימו שהן חכמות מפוארות ושיש בהן תועלת גדולה. ולא נתעסקו בלמידת מלחמה ולא בכיבוש ארצות אלא דמו שאותן הדברים יועילו להם. ולפיכך קראו אותן הנביאים סכלים ואוילים. ודאי סכלים היו ואחרי התוהו אשר לא יועילו הלכו:

4 3 שישיג בחמשת M / 4 שמע בודאי B שידע [ויראה] AC (שידע) H / (וכיוצא בזה) H / 5 (שישמע) B / צלול AC / כל הברה B /

5 8 וצריך [האדם שהוא] בעל דעה ACHM / 10 אבל מי AC / 11 כאלו H /

6 12 (בהבל וריק) ACDH / 14 שאותם ההבלים הם חכמות [גדולות] ACH / חכמים [גדולים] AC / 16 מודיע לכם ACDH / והרעה וחולה B והרעה הגדולה H / 17 שימצאו כתובים AC שנמצאו כתובים H / 18 יהיו AC / 19 יקבוץ A יכנס לדעתו M לדעתו B / [לומר] שאלו AC / 20 אכן לשקר ACH עט [שקר] H / (ובחנם) נשאו אליו ונתנו B אלו באלה ACD /

7 21 בית מקדשנו והאריכה גלותנו AC / 22 שכל דברי B / של הוברי שמים החוזים בכוכבים D חוזי הככבים H / 23 (בהלכות ע"ז) AC / (טעו ונהו) B וינהו H / 24 (חכמות) M / תועלת] מעלה B / 25 לא למידת B / (הדברים) AC החכמות H / 26 הנביאים] הדברים B / סכלים [ואוילים] AC / 27 יועילו [ולא יצילו כי תוהו המה] AC /

8 דעו רבותי שאני חפשתי בדברים אלו הרבה ותחלת מה שלמדתי היא חכמה זו שקורין גזרת הכוכבים כלומר שידע ממנה האדם מה עתיד להיות בעולם או במדינה או במלכות זו ומה יארע לאיש זה כל ימיו. וגם קראתי בכל עניני עבודה זרה כולה כמדומה לי שלא נשאר חבור בעולם בענין זה בלשון ערבי שהעתיקו אותו משאר לשונות עד שקראתי אותו והבנתי ענייניו וירדתי עד סוף דעתו. ומאותן הספרים נתברר לי טעם כל המצות שיעלה על לב כל אדם שאינן דברים שיש להם טעם אלא גזרת הכתוב. וכבר יש לי חבור גדול בענין זה בלשון ערבי בראיות ברורות על כל מצוה ומצוה ולא לכך הוצרכנו עתה. ואני חוזר לענין שאלתכם:

9 דעו רבותי שכל אותן הדברים כולן של גזרת הכוכבים שהם אומרים יארע כך ולא יארע כך ומולדו של זה ימשוך אותו שיהיה כך ויארע לו כך ולא יארע כך כל אותן הדברים אינן דברי חכמה כלל וטפשות הם. וראיות ברורות שאין בהן דופי יש לבטל כל עקרי אותן הדברים ומעולם לא נתעסק בענין זה ולא חבר בו אחד מחכמי האומות שהם הכמים ודאי ולא הברו אותן החבורים כלם ולא עשו אותה הטעות שקראו אותה חכמה אלא הכשדים והכלדיים והכנעניים והמצרים. וזו היתה דתם באותם הימים:

10 אבל חכמי יון והם הפלוסופים שחברו בחכמות ונתעסקו בכל מיני מדע מהתלים ושוחקים ומלעיבים באלו הארבע אומות שאמרתי לכם ועורכים ראיות לבטל כל דבריהם שרש וענף. וגם חכמי פרס הכירו והבינו שכל אותן החכמות שעשו הכשדים והכלדיים והמצרים והכנעניים הם שקר וכזב. ואל תדמו שאותן הדברים אין שם ראיה להם לפיכך לא נאמין בהם אלא ראיות ברורות ונכונות אין בהם דופי יש לבטל כל אותן הדברים ולא ידבק באותן הדברים אלא פתי שיאמין לכל דבר או מי שירצה לרמות את אחרים:

11 ודעו רבותי שחכמת הכוכבים שהיא חכמה ודאית היא ידיעת צורת הגלגלים ומניינם ומדתם ודרך הילוכם וזמן סביבת כל אחד ואחד ונטייתם לצפון

8 1 באותם הדברים H / למודי היתה AC / 2 שקורין אותה ACDM / גזרת משפטי הכוכבים AC / שעתיד H / 3 לעולם B / או (במלכות זו) ACD / לאיש] לאדם H / 4 בעניני ACD / נשאר לי AC / בעולם ספר ACH / 5 ענייניהם D / 6 לב האדם H / 9 שאלתכם [ששאלתם] H /

9 10 (רבותי) BDM / 11 ומולדו של אדם ימשוך שיהיה AC ימשוך לו D שיהיה B / 12 אלא טפשות (הם) AC / 13 ושאין בהם יופי B / יש [לי] ACD 14 חבר בו [ספר] ACH / מחכמי יון ACD (שהם חכמים) BH / ולא זכרו אותן בחבורים D / 15 חכמי הכשדים ACD / 16 [אמונתם] ודתם ACD /

10 17 החכמות H / מדע] B ליתא. חכמה AC / 18 מהתלים–ועורכים ראיות] השתדלו בראיות AC / ומלעיגים DHM / ראיות [ברורות] ACDM / 19 (הכירוו) הבינו AC / 20 (והכלדיים) B (והכנעניים) B / (וכזב) AC / תדמו [בנפשכם] AC / 21 שום ראיה ACD / (להם) B / ונכוחות AC / 22 יש [לי] AC /

11 24 שהחכמה (הכוכבים) AC / 25 ומניינם] ומקצתם B / וסדר הלוכם AC / אחד מהם AC / לצד צפון או לצד AC /

או לדרום וסביבתם למזרח או למערב ומסלול כל כוכב ודרכו היאך הוא. בכל זה וכיוצא בו חברו חכמי יון ופרס והודו חיבורים והיא חכמה מפוארה הרבה הרבה. וממנה יודע עלית לקיית המאורות ומתי ילקו בכל מקום וממנה יודע מאי זו עלה יראה הירח כך כקשת והולך ומתגדל עד שישלם ויהסר מעט מעט. וממנה יודע מתי תראה הלבנה או לא תראה. ומאי זה טעם יהיה יום ארוך ויום קצר. ומאי זה טעם יעלו שני כוכבים כאחד ולא ישקעו כאחד. ומאי זה טעם יום זה במקום זה שלש עשרה שעות ובמקום אחר חמש עשרה או שש עשרה או עשרים והוא יום אחד. ובמקום יהיה היום והלילה שוים. ובמקום יהיה היום כמו חדש או שני חדשים או שלשה עד שימצא מקום שתהיה כל השנה יום אחד ששה חדשים יום וששה חדשים לילה. וכמה ענינות המתמהין יודעו מאותה החכמה והכל אמת בלא ספק. וזהו השבון ותקופות שאמרו הכמים (שבת ע"ה ע"א) שהיא חכמה ובינה לעיני העמים. אבל אלו הדברים של הוברי שמים הטפשים אינן כלום. והריני מבאר לכם ראשי פרקים מאלו הדברים שהם כבשונו של עולם:

12 דעו שכל הכמי אומות העולם והם הפלוסופים הגדולים בעלי השכל והמדע הסכימו כולם שיש לעולם מנהיג והוא מסבב הגלגל ואין הגלגל מסבב מאליו. ויש להם טפרים רבים להביא ראיה ברורה על זה ובזה לא נחלקו בעלי מדע. ויש ביניהם מהלקת גדולה בזה העולם כולו שהוא הגלגל ומה שבתוכו.

13 רובן אומרין שאינו הווה ונפסד אלא כך עומד היה ויהיה לעולם ולעולמי עולמים. כמו הקב"ה שהוא מסבב אותו מעולם כך היה זה טובב וזה מסבב ושניהם ביחד לא היה זה בלא זה:

14 ויש מהם מי שאומר שזה הגלגל היה והאל בראו. אבל יש שם דבר אחד מצוי עם הבורא כמו החומר ביד היוצר. מאותו הדבר המצוי עמו הוא עושה כל מה שירצה. פעמים יעשה מקצת אותו החומר שמים ומקצתו ארץ. ופעמים אם ירצה יקח אותו המקצת שעשה ממנו שמים ויעשה ממנו דבר אחר אבל להוציא יש מאין אי איפשר:

1 כל כוכב [וכוכב] D 2 חבורים [גדולים] AC / 3 (הרבה) ACHM / עליה B. ACD ליתא / 4 (כך) ACD / (כקשת) M / [ויחוור] ויחסר ACM / (מעט) AC / 5 ומאיזה טעם (יהיה-כאחד ומאיזה טעם) BH ליתא / 6 יום זה ארוך או AC / 8 ובמקום [הזה] D [אחר] AC / שוים [לעולם] ACDM / ובמקום [אחר] ACD / 9 שתמצא (מקום) AC / השנה כולה ששה חדשים יום אחד וששה חדשים לילה אחד AC / 10 ענינים ACM / התמהין B המתמידים D / 11 תקופות [וגימטריאות] AC / חכמי [האמת רבותינו ע"ה] AC / 13 (הטפשים) ACM / מבאר] מראה H / 12 15 דעו [רבותי] AC / הפלוסופים שהם בעלי שכל ומדע AC / 16 סובב ACDM / 17 ספרים-ראיה] ראיות רבות להביא מופת חותך לראיה AC / 18 חכמי המדע AC / הגלגלים M /

13 21 [והרי היא] כמו ACDM / 22 לא ימצא DM / זה בלתי זה M

14 23 היה [ויפסד] ACDM / והאל] והבורא יתי AC / 24 ומאותו המצוי AC / 25 (ומקצתו ארץ) B /

15 ויש מן הפלוסופים מי שאומר כמו שאמרו הנביאים שהקב"ה ברא כל הנבראים מאין ושאין עם הבורא דבר אחר אלא הנברא שהמציאו. ובזה הדבר היא המחלקת הגדולה וזה הוא הדבר שהכירו אברהם אבינו. וכבר נתחבר בזה אלף ספרים בראיות שיערך כל אחד ואחד לחזק דבריו:

16 ועקר התורה היא שהאל לבדו ראשון והוא ברא הכל מאין וכל מי שלא יודה בזה כפר בעקר וקצץ בנטיעות. וכבר חברתי אני חבור גדול בלשון ערבי בענינות אלו. ובארתי הראיות הברורות על מציאות הבורא ושהוא אחד ושאינו גוף וגויה. ושברתי כל אותן הראיות שאומרין הפילוסופים שהן ראיות שהעולם לא נברא. וגם פרקתי כל הקושיות הגדולות שהקשו עלינו על שאנו אומרים שהאל ברא כל יש מאין:

17 וכל אלו השלש כתות של חכמי העולם מקודם ועד עתה בין אלו שאמרו שאין הגלגל נברא אלא כך היה ויהיה לעולם. בין אלו שאמרו שהאל בראו מאותו החומר המצוי אצלו תמיד. בין אלה שאמרו כמו שאמרו כל הנביאים שאין שם דבר אחר עומד עם האל אלא הוא לבדו וכשרצה הוא המציא עולם זה כרצונו מאין. כל אלו השלש כתות מסכימים לכל מה שיהיה בזה העולם התחתון מהיות כל נפש היה וכל אילן וכל מין עשב וכל מחצב ממיני המחצבות הכל האל עושהו בכח שיבא מן הגלגלים והכוכבים. ושכח הבורא צוף בתחלה על הגלגלים והכוכבים. ומן הגלגלים והכוכבים יצוף ויפשט בזה העולם ויהיה כל מה שיהיה. וכשם שאנו אומרים שהקב"ה עושה אותות ומופתים על ידי המלאכים כך אלו הפלוסופים אומרים שכל אלו הדברים הנעשים בטבעו של עולם תמיד על ידי הגלגלים והכוכבים הן נעשים. והם אמרו שהגלגלים והכוכבים בעלי נפש ומדע הם:

18 וכל אלו הדברים אמת הם. וכבר בארתי אני בראיות שכל אלה הדברים אין בהם הפסד בדת. ולא עוד אלא שהבנתי דברי חכמים מכל המדרשות שהם אומרים כמו שאמרו הפלוסופים. ואין בין הכמי ישראל ובין הפלוסופים באלו הדברים מחלקת כלל כמו שבארתי באותן הפרקים:

15 1 [כל] הנביאים B / 2 ושאין [שם] AC / 3 הטו המחלקת AC / חברו בדבר זה AC / 4 בראיות [ברורות] AC / שיחזק ACD /

16 5 התורה [התמימה] AC / הוא ראשון [והוא אחרון ומבלעדיו אין אלהים] והוא שברא הכל יש מאין וכל מי שאינו מודה בדבר זה הוא כופר בעקר ומקצץ AC / 7 בענינים אלה AC / הברורות [והמופתים החזקים] AC / אחד [אמתי] AC / 8 וגויה [ולא כח בגוף] AC / 9 (הגדולות) ACM / 10 הכל AC /

17 11 מחכמי אומות העולם D / 12 שאמרו (שאין–שאמרו) ACB / 14 הוציא D / 15 מאין [ובין אלו שאמרו שזה הגלגל אינו הווה ונפסד אלא [אם C] כן עומד היה ויהיה לעולם ולעולמי עולמים. והרי הוא כמו שהקב"ה שהוא מסבב אותו מעולם. כך היה זה סובב וזה מסבב ושניהם יחד לא ימצא זה בלא זה] AC / 16 (מהיות) מכל H / המחצבים AC / 18 ויתפשט AC / 19 כל מי B / 20 חכמי הפלוסופים AC / 22 נפש [שכל] ומדע H

18 23 בראיות [ברורות] AC / (אלה) B / 24 שהבנתי] שהכרתי AC / בדברי D / 25 באלו הדברים] בזה AC / 26 (כלל) AC / כמו [שכבר] AC /

19 וכל אלו השלש כתות של הפלוסופים שאמרו שהכל על ידי הגלגלים והכוכבים יעשה יאמרו שזה שיארע לכל אחד ואחד מבני אדם מן המאורעות הוא קרי ואין לו עלה מלמעלה ולא יועיל בו מולד ולא טבע. ולא שנה אצלם זה האיש שטרפו ארי כשפגע בו או זה העכבר שטרפו החתול או זה הזבוב שטרפו העכביש. ולא שנה זה שנפל עליו גג והרגו או אבן שנדלדלה מן ההר ונפלה על אילן ונשבר או על אבן אחרת ונשברה. כל זה יאמרו אקראי בעלמא הוא. גם אלו בני אדם הנלחמים זה עם זה על מלכות גדולה כמו עדת כלבים שנלחמים על הגבלה. ואין לזה סבה מן הכוכבים. גם היות זה רש וזה עשיר זה בעל בנים וזה עקור יאמרו כל הפלוסופים שהוא קרי. כללו של דבר יאמרו מאורעות כל אחד ואחד בין מן האדם בין מן הבהמה בין מן האילנות והמחצבות הכל קרי. אבל היות המונים כולם ודברים הכלולים בכל העולם שאין בו מעשה נפש היה הכל מכח הגלגלים שעקרו מעם הקב"ה:

20 ובזה היא המחלקת שבעלי דת האמת והיא דת משה רבינו לא יאמרו שמאורעות בני האדם קרי אלא במשפט כמו שאמרה תורה (דברים ל"ב ד') כי כל דרכיו משפט. ופירש הנביא (ירמיה ל"ב י"ט) אשר עיניך פקוחות על כל דרכי בני אדם לתת לאיש כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו. ועל זה הזהירה תורה והעידה ואמרה לישראל (ויקרא כ"ו י"ד) אם לא תשמעו לי ואביא עליכם פורענות. אם תאמרו שאותה הפורענות אינה יסורין על חטאתיכם אלא קרי ומאורע שמשאר מאורעות שארעו בקרי אני אוסיף עליכם מאותו הקרי זה הוא שכתוב (שם כ"א וכ"ח) ואם תלכו עמי קרי והלכתי עמכם בחמת קרי. וזהו עקר דת משה רבינו שכל מאורעות שאירעו בני אדם דין ומשפט. וכן אמרו חכמים (שבת נ"ה ע"א) אין מיתה בלא חטא ואין יסורין בלא עון:

21 ודעו רבותי שעקר מעקרי דת משה רבינו וגם הפלוסופים כולם מודים בו שכל מעשה בני אדם מסור להם ואין שם כופה ולא מושך אלא אם ירצה אדם יעבד את ה' ויהיה חכם ויושב בבית המדרש יעשה. ואם ירצה לילך בעצת רשעים ולרוץ עם הגנבים ולצפון עם הנואפים יעשה. ואין שם מעשה ולא מולד שמושך אותו לאחד מן הדרכים כלל. לפיכך נצטוה ונאמר לו עשה כך ולא תעשה כך. וכמה דברים בארנו בענינות אלו ברב החבורים שיש לנו בלשון

19 2 לכל בני AC (ואחד) M / המאורעות [והמקרים] AC / 3 ואין (לו) B בו H / עלה] סבה H / 5 גג] גל ACD / 7 אלו] לא שנה אצלם M / 8 לזה] בה ליחה [הכל] AC / 9 קרי] מקרה AC / 10 המחצבים והאילנות AC / 11 המינים ACDH / 12 (מעשה) AC / היה [לי] H / הגלגלים [והכוכבים] AC /

20 13 וזה היא שלבעלי H ואנחנו בעלי התורה האמיתית לא נאמר AC / 17 תשמעו לי [וכו' כלומר] כשאביא H / 19 משאר AC DHM / 20 [אף אני] עמכם BD (עיין ויקרא כ"ו כ"ד) דחינו [היא תורת] משה AC / 21 שיארעו [בעולם וכל יסורין שיבאו בדרך מקרה לכלל] בני אדם AC / 22 חכמי [האמת רבותינו ע"ה] AC /

21 23 שעקרי דת M דחינו AC / 24 מסור לאדם H / [לא] כופה HM / 25 חכם גדול יושב M / 26 ולרוץ] ללכת M / מעשה] יעשה B טבע AC / 28 וכמה ענינים H / בענינים אלו [או בדומים להם] בחבור AC /

ערבי בפירוש המשנה ובשאר החבורים. וכן יש לנו לדעת שאין מאורעות בני האדם כמאורעות הבהמה כמו שאמרו הפלוסופים:

22 נמצא בדברים אלו שלש מחלקות. כיצד הגע עצמך שראובן זה בורסי ועני ומתו בניו בחייו. ושמעון בסם ועשיר והרי בניו לפניו. יאמר הפלוסוף על זה קרי. ואיפשר שיהיה ראובן בסם ועשיר ויהיו לו בנים ואיפשר שיעני שמעון ויחזור בורסי וימותו בניו וכל זה קרי בעולם. ואין שם טבע בעולם ולא כח מכוכב שגרם לזה האיש שיהיה כך או לא יהיה אלו דברי הפלוסופים:

23 והדבר השני דברי בעלי גזרת הכוכבים ששמעתם דבריהם ופשטו הבליהם אצלכם שהם אומרים שאי אפשר שישתנה דבר זה לעולם. ולעולם לא יהיה ראובן אלא בורסי ועני ואין לו בן שכך נתן כח הגלגל בעת לדתו. וגם שמעון אי אפשר שיהיה אלא בסם ועשיר ויהיו בניו כמו שנתן כח הגלגל בעת לדתו:

24 ואלו שני הדרכים או אלו שני הדברים שקר הם אצלנו. דברי האצטגנינין שקר מפני הדעת שכל אותן ההבלים שאמרו כבר בטלה אותם הדעת הנכונה בראיות ברורות. וגם הם שקר אצלנו מפני קבלת הדת שאלו היה הדבר כן מה הועילה התורה והמצוה והתלמוד זה האיש. וכן כל איש ואיש אין כח בו לעשות כלום מדעתו והרי דבר אחר מושך אותו על כרחו להיות כך ושלא להיות כך ומה יועיל הצווי או התלמוד. נמצא דברי אלו הטפשים מבטלים עקרי דת משה רבינו יתר על שהדעת מבטלת דבריהם בכל אותן הראיות שאומרים הפלוסופים לבטל דברי הכשדים והכלדיים וחבריהם. וגם דברי הפלוסופים שאומרים שהדברים אלו קרי שקר הם אצלנו מפני קבלת הדת:

25 ודרך האמת שעליה אנו סומכים ובה הולכין היא שאנו אומרים שזה ראובן ושמעון אין שם דבר שמושך זה להיות בסם ועשיר וזה בורסי ועני. ואפשר שישתנה הדבר ויהיה הפך כמו שאומר הפלוסוף. אבל הפלוסוף

1 או בפירוש AC / יש לנו ראיות של דעת ACM ראיות D /
22 3 ונמצאו אלו שלש AC (שלש) H / בורסקי–בשם everywhere M / 4 ויחיו לו בניו לפניו AC / יאמרו הפלוסופים DM (יאמר–לו בנים) AC / 5 על זה] כל זה DM / שהיה B / ויעשיר DM / והיו B / 7 שהיה B / או לא] ולזה לא AC לא יהיה [כך] D /
23 8 והדבר השני] אבל H (השני) B ודברי מחלוקת השני הוא ענין בעלי AC / ששמעתי BM / 9 אצלכם [הם להפך] H / 10 היה B / נתן לו כח מזלו AC / לדתו (וגם שמעון לדתו) HM / 11 לא יהיה שמעון אלא עשיר ובשם ובעל בנים שיחיו לפנינו שכך נתן לו כח מזלו בעת לדתו AC /
24 13 (שני הדרכים או) ACDM / אצלנו [בעלי הדת האמתית] AC / 14 מפני שהדעת [בטלה אותן] H / (הדעת) M / 15 וגם [דברי הפלוסופים] M וגם הם [עוד] AC / קבלת התורה שאם AC / 16 והמצות ACM / אין בידו כח DM / 18 ומה הועילו הצוויים או הלמוד AC / 19 עקרי דת] תורת AC / על [דעת] B על הדעת שמבטלה M / 20 והכלדיים [והבבליים D / 21 שאומרים [הפלוסופים] B / שדברים ACM / קבלת התורה ודרכיה שעליה אנו סומכין ובה אנו מחויקים ובדרכיה אנו הולכים והיא (היא C) שאנו AC /
25 23 שום דבר D / [להיות] בורסי ACDHM / 24 שאומרים הפלוסופים (אבל הפלוסוף) ACM /

אמר שזה קרי. ואנו אומרים שאינו קרי אלא דבר זה תלוי ברצון מי שאמר והיה העולם וכל זה דין ומשפט. ואין אנו יודעים פוף חכמתו של הקב"ה ולידע באיזה דין ומשפט גזר על זה להיות כך ועל זה להיות כך כי לא כדרכנו דרכיו ולא כמחשבותנו מחשבותיו. אבל חייבים אנו לקבע בדעתנו שאם יחטא שמעון ילקה ויעני וימותו בניו וכיוצא בזה. ואם שב ראובן ותקן דרכיו וחפש במעשיו והלך בדרך ישרה יעשיר ויצליח בכל דרכיו ויראה זרע ויאריך ימים. זה הוא עקר הדת. ואם יאמר אדם והרי רבים עשו זה ולא הצליחו אין זו ראיה. היה להם עון הגורם או יסורין לנהול דבר שהוא טוב מזה. כללו של דבר אין דעתנו משגת דיני הקב"ה בבני האדם היאך הם בעולם הזה ולעולם הבא:

26 ודאמרינן עלה מעקרא היא שכל דברי החוזים בככבים שקר הם אצל כל בעלי מדע. ואני יודע שאפשר שתחפשו ותמצאו דברי יחידים מן החכמים בתלמוד ובמדרשות שדבריהם מראים שבעת תולדתו של אדם יגרמו לו הככבים כך וכך. אל יקשה זה בעיניכם שאין הדרך שיניח אדם הלכה למעשה ויהדר אפרכי ואשנוי. וכן אין ראוי להניח דברים של דעת ושכבר נתאמתו בראיות ויגער כפיו מהם ויתלה בדברי יחיד מן החכמים שאפשר שנתעלם ממנו דבר. או שיש באותן הדברים רמז. או אמרן לפי שעה ומעשה שהיה לפניו: הלא תדעו שהרי כמה פסוקים מן התורה הקדושה אינן כפשוטן. ולפי שנודע בראיות של דעת שאי אפשר שהיה הדבר כפשוטו תרגמו המתרגם תרגום שהדעת סובלת: ולעולם אל ישליך אדם דעתו אחריו שהעינים לפנים הם ולא לאחור. וכבר הגדתי לכם את כל לבי בדבר זה:

27 ועל עסקי המשיח שהגיעו אליכם משמי לא היה כך המעשה ולא במזרח היה באספהאן. אבל בתימן עמד איש יש לדבר היום כמו שתים ועשרים שנים ואמר שהוא שליח מישר דרך לפני המלך המשיח ואמר להם שהמשיח בארץ תימן. ונתקבצו אנשים הרבה יהודים וערביים והיה מסבב בהרים. וכתבו לי אחינו שבתימן כתב גדול יודיעו לי דרכו ומשפטו וחדושיו שחדש להם בתפלות

4 לקבע] לקבל M / 5 ויעני] ויענש H / מעשיו M / 6 יאריך M / 7 עקר התורה AC / ואל יאמר ACDM / והלא רבים D / 8 [אבל] היה H [כי] היה AC / או [באו עליהם] יסורין H /

26 10 וראמינן ובגליון: ודאמרינן B ודאתינן D / וראיה M / ודעתנו ACH / [אצלנו] ואצל M / 11 ואיני יודע B / (מן החכמים) B מחכמי האמת רבותנו ע"ה AC / 12 בתלמוד [ובמשנה] AC / 13 שניח (אדם) AC למעשה] למשה B / ויהדר] ויסדר D ונהדר AC / 14 וכן] לכן D / ראוי [לאדם] ACDM / הראיות בהן AC / 15 דבר [באותה שעה] AC / 16 לפניו) AC / תדעו] תראו ACD / 18 שיהיה AC DHM / תרגום] ענין AC / סובלת [בו] M [אותו] AC סובלתו H / 19 לפניו H / 20 (כל) AC / (זה) AC /

27 21 המשיח [אשר זכרתם] AC / אליכם [דברים] ACDM / המעשה [כמו ששמעתים] באספיהן M (באספהאן) ACH / 22 יש לדבר זה כ"ב שנה AC / 23 שליחו של משיח מישר דרך לפני ביאתו AC מישר] מישראל B / ש[המלך] המשיח [הוא יתגלה] AC / 24 ונתקבצו [לו] DM [אליו] H / וערביים [עמו] AC / מסבב מר B מסבבם H מדבר M / בהרים [והיה מטעה אותם ואומר להם תמיד בואו עמי ונצא לקראת המשיח כי הוא שלחני אליכם לישר דרך לפניו] AC / אלי אחינו AC לנו אחינו H לאחינו B 25 לי] לנו BH

ומה שהוא אומר. ואמרו שכבר ראו מנפלאותיו כך וכך. ושאלו לי על זה: והבנתי מכל הדברים שאותו האיש העני חסר דעת וירא השם אבל אין בו חכמה כלל. ושכל מה שאומרים שעשה או נראה על ידו שקר וכזב. ופהדתי על היהודים אשר שמה וחברתי להם כמו שלש ארבע קונדרסים בענין המשיח וסימניו וסימני הזמן שיראה בו והזהרתי אותם שיזהירו זה האיש שמא יאבד ויאבד הקהלות: כללו של דבר לאחר שנה נתפש וברחו כל הנלוים אליו. ואמר לו מלך מן הערבים שתפשו מה זה שעשית. אמר לו אמת עשיתי וכדבר ה' עשיתי. אמר לו ומה המופת שלך. אמר לו תחתך ראשי ואני אחיה מיד. אמר לו אין לך אות גדול מזה. ודאי אני וכל העולם נאמין ואדע כי שקר נחלו אבותי. מיד הרגו אותו העני. תהא מיתתו כפרה לו ולכל ישראל: וענשו היהודים ברב המקומות ממון ועד עתה יש שם חסרי דעת יאמרו עתה יחיה ויעמוד: כך היו הדברים ואם שמעתם שהגיע כחבי לפאס שמא אותן הדברים ששלחתי לתימן הועתקו והגיעו לפאס:

28 וכבר אמרתי לכם שכל דקדוקי השאלות שלכם בענין זה כולם שריגי אילן אחד הם. ואני אצוה לכם בדעתי נודו אלנא וקצצו ענפותי וגו' (דניאל ד' י"א) ונטעו במקומו עץ הדעת טוב ורע ואכלו טובו ופריו ושלחו ידיכם וקחו גם מעץ החיים: הקב"ה יזכנו ויזכה אתכם לארות פריו ולשבוע מטובו עד אשר נחיה לעולם. אמן:

29 נכתב בנחץ גדול בי"א בתשרי אתק"ז לשטרות בארץ מצרים. ישע יקרב:

30 אל יאשימוני רבותי על קוצר הדברים שהכתב מוכיח שכתכתיו לשעתו. כי הייתי טרוד הרבה מרוב עסקי האומות. והאל יודע לולי הרב ר' פנחס שלח שליח והפציר בי עד בוש ולא זז מפני עד שכתביו לא הייתי משיב עתה לפי

1 ומה היה אומר להם AC ומהו אומר D / 2 מכל] כל AC מכלל M / הדברים [והכרתי מתוכן דברי כתבם] שאותו AC שהאיש ההוא עני M / וירא שמים ACD / שם B / 4 היהודים משם AC / (ארבע) AC או ארבע H וארבע M קונטרסין DH / 5 שיתראה AC / שהזהירו B / 6 סוף דבר H / (שנה) B ימים H / 0 וברחו [ממנו] AC / 7 מלך אחר ממלכי הערביים אחר שתפשו AC / [אדוני המלך] אמת [אני אומר] כי בדבר ה' עשיתי AC / 8 [ענה] ואמר לו [אדוני המלך] חתוך AC / [ואחר כך] אני אחיה [ואקום ואהיה כבראשונה] AC / א"ל [המלך] AC / 9 אות] מופת AC / [ואם הוא כך] אני וכל העולם נאמין בודאי [כי דבריך כולם אמתיים וטובים ונכוחים] ושקר נחלו אבותינו [הבל ואין בם מועיל] מיד [גזר המלך וצוה ואמר קחו לי חרב ויביאו החרב לפני המלך וצוה וחתכו את ראשו] ונהרג AC / 10 כפרה עליו ועל כל AC / ונענשו AC (ברב המקומות) M / 11 בממון D (ממון) H מטון [נדול] AC / (שם) HM / ויעמוד [מקברו] AC / 12 כתבי] דברי H /

28 16 הטוב (ורע) AC / טוב פריו H / 17 החיים [ואכלו וחיו לעולם] AC / [יחברנו] ויזכנו M / לארות פריו] לזכות פניו M / 18 אמן [כן יאמר ה' כרצונכם ותאותכם ורצון וחשק נאמן אהבתכם. אחיכם החותט שנית משה בר מימון הספרדי זצ"ל]:

29 19 ליתא ACM. בצוען מצרים V / (ישע יקרב) D /

30 21 ליתא ACDM ר' פנחס ש"צ LV / ששלח V שלוח HV /

שאין לי פנאי. ובעבור זה תדינוני לכף זכות. ושלום אחי ורעי ורבותי ירבה ויגדל לעד. אמן:

31 [תובל האגרת לפני מושב האיתנים מוסדי ארץ חכמי ארץ צרפת הדרים במונטפישליר ובראשם הרב החכם ר' יהונתן הכהן היקר שצ"ו:]

31 s רק ב VL/ מושב זקנים V/ 4 ובראשם] ובתוכם L/ יצ'ו L.

TWO LETTERS FROM ABRAHAM FIRKOVICH

By ABRAHAM KAHANA, Tel-Aviv, Palestine.

THE KARAITE ARCHAEOLOGIST Abraham b. Samuel Firkovich (known as אב"ן רש"ף) became notorious especially by reason of the literary controversy concerning his archaeological discoveries which formed a part of the two collections of MSS. sold by him to the (former) Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Firkovich was an expert forger. With great skill did he incorporate his fabrications into his collection of genuine documents so that it became difficult to distinguish between the true and the false. As a result great confusion reigned in the investigations of even the prominent scholars at his time and also later on.

Firkovich was born in 1785 in a village near Lutsk (in Volhynia). His parents were simple people engaged in agriculture. They gave him no education in Judaism. At the age of 20 Firkovich married and left his native village to take up his abode in another village where he managed an agricultural property of his own. But he was unsuccessful and lost most of his capital. With the remainder he rented a mill which also turned out to be a failure. He then moved to Lutsk where his sister lived who was married to the son of the Ḥazzan of Lutsk, Mordecai Sultanski. The latter belonged to the Ḳaraite aristocracy of Lutsk. He was also a man of learning occupying the position of Ḥazzan and Rabbi in succession to his father. Sultanski devoted much attention to the spreading of the knowledge of Judaism among his congregants and he was also the author of several works (see about him in detail Poznanski in his edition of Sultanski's זכר צדיקים או קצור הגדה, Warsaw 1920, p. 52ff).

Sultanski noticed in the brother of his daughter-in-law abilities for study and he began to instruct him in Judaism. In a short time Firkovich knew how to read and write and also how to translate the Bible into ancient Tartarish, a language spoken by the Ḳaraites in Poland. Tartarish was the remnant of their

culture which they had brought with them from their center in the Crimea. In two years Firkovich had made such progress as to be able to become at first an assistant of one of the Ḳaraite teachers and then to be his own master.

However Firkovich was by nature a great intriguer and seeker after self-aggrandisement. He aspired at becoming Ḥazzan in the very community of Lutsk, viz. in the place of Sultanski. He thus began to undermine his teacher's position and employed all sorts of means to oust Sultanski in order ultimately to succeed him. But in the meanwhile he realized that it would be best for him to leave Lutsk for the Crimea where he would find greater scope for his ambitions. Having already succeeded in bringing about the resignation of Sultanski by means of intrigues and denunciations, Firkovich helped a relative of his to succeed Sultanski in Lutsk whereas he himself set out for the Crimea whither Mordecai Sultanski also proceeded as he had no longer any occupation in his native place. In the Crimea too Firkovich did not desist from intriguing because he feared the rivalry of his former master, Sultanski, one of the most learned and respected men among the Ḳaraites of those days. Firkovich continued in the Crimea harming Sultanski in a despicable manner and he succeeded so far that Sultanski remained in isolation in Tshufut-Kale without being able to oppose him. Firkovich made the acquaintance of the leading scholar of the Ḳaraites, Simḥa Bobowitz, who made him his companion on his journey to Palestine (in 1830). With the help of the Bobowitz Firkovich continued his eventful career which furnished him in course of time considerable funds as well as great honor among the Ḳaraites and in the learned world at large.

It seems as if a veil of obscurity has now been cast on Firkovich's activities among the Ḳaraites of the Crimea. No new material containing recollections, letters or documents is coming to light. Herewith we present two letters from Firkovich which gives us an insight into the character and machinations of the man. The first epistle is undated. It has evidently been written at the time when Firkovich still lived in Volhynia and when he was planning his intrigues to oust his master. Its chief purpose was merely to deceive Sultanski. At the very time when he car-

ried on despicable intrigues against his master and forged signatures of respected members of the Ḳaraite community in Lutsk, he addressed a long letter to Sultanski couched in false and hypocritical language. He alludes to others as the foes of Sultanski while he himself poses as a staunch and humble friend of the master and his family.

But the second letter, written from Eupatoria (גזלוו) in 1826 to a relative in Lutsk, reveals the true activities of Firkovich at this period. It recounts all his despicable deeds with an arrogance and a cynicism hard to parallel. This second letter consists of three sections full of interest. The first section contains a graphic account of the conduct of the Ḳaraites in the Crimea. We learn therefrom that Firkovich lived up truly to the Ḳaraite ethical standard of those days. In the second part Firkovich mentions some interesting details about the origin of the famous Ḳaraite printing house in Eupatoria which issued the most important Karaite works (e. g. Mibḥar, Aderet Elijahu, Sepher Ha-'osher, 'Eṣ Ḥayyim with Or Haḥayyim and others). In the last section Firkovich asks of his relative to exert himself and calm the animosity against Sultanski and remove the bad impressions that this ugly affair had left behind in the minds of the people and also in writing. Firkovich feared lest the secrets be revealed and his disgrace become known. In consequence of this appeal to his relative he repeats in detail and full of cynicism all the ugly deeds he perpetrated against Sultanski, how he forged documents and signatures and how he went about among his fellow-sectaries in Lutsk lying, deceiving and acting with duplicity.

Many of the disputes about the trustworthiness of Firkovich's archaeological discoveries would not have taken place, had these letters been known to the contemporaries of Chwolson and Harkavy. The latter took the trouble of composing his work "Altjüdishe Denkmäler aus der Krim, mitgetheilt von Abraham Firkowitch" (St. Petersburg, 1876) and the former his German work on Hebrew palaeography (1882) which later on appeared in an extended form in Russian under the title "Sbornik Yewreiskich Nadpisei," (St. Petersburg 1884). Our letters would have enabled the scholars to seize up Firkovich with more sureness and directness.

There finally remains to point out one characteristic detail. This very letter, wherein Firkovich beseeches his relative and partner in all these ugly deeds to hide it carefully or burn it, came into my possession together with the first letter from Sultanski's grandson, Joseph Sultanski, Ḥazzan of the Ḳaraites in Kiew. Thus Firkovich's faithful companion betrayed him and handed over his letter to the family of Sultanski!

I

אל איש הגדול קדוש יאמר לו אשר רוח אלהין קדישין השתכחת בו, חכמה ודעת ובינה והשכל נחה עליו ברוב סרעפיו בקרבו, וירא ת' בנפש זכה וברה תוסיף חיים ונעימות בימינו נצח במהלכו ובמסבו, אמונת עתו חוסן ישועות ואוצרות גנזיו כחומה סביבו, חכם לבב ואמיץ כח בתבונתו הרבה והרחבה לציין ולעיין בסודות תורת צור אהובו, ומגלה עמוקות מני חשך בזוך לבו ונהורא עמיה שריא וכל רז לא אניס לו במחבוא, ראה דחיל בזהרת ויקרת אורת תורת ה' תמימה מ"נ היא נחלתו וחבלו, ונשא גבה מאד בדעת האלהות ודביקות שכלו החלקיי לשכל הפועל הכללי וזאת תורת האדם הגדול בצאת חפשי מקרית ארבע ולהדמות למראה אדם על דמות הכסא למולו, כמוך אדוני מ"ו ועטרת ראשי כי הוא הלקך בחיי המין והאיש אשריך אדוני מ"ו ואשרי לאנוש יעשה זאת את כרוב ממשח הסוכך עלינו אנחנו צעירי הצאן עם ה' אלה הותם תכנית צדיקים וחסידים החכם האלהי הרופא הרוחני צניף תפארתי ומפלט לי ומגני, האדון המובהק בחקירה טבעי ומדיני ומסולסל בשתי תקוני מדותיו פנימי וחצוני, ה"ה אדוני מורי ורבי החכם הנעלה לשם טובות הלה כמהר"ר מרדכי הצדיק החזן והמלמד נרי' בן אד' מ"ו החכם השלם והכולל כמהר"ג יוסף החוזה צדק והמלמד זצ"ל.

שלום מעלת תורתך אדוני ושלום נות צדקך ושלום זרעך זק"מ ושלום חותנתך ת"ל ושלום אחיך עם בתו היתומה ושלום כלל הנספחים בצל קורתך כמוך אה' מ"ו כמוהם כלכם תחיו ותבורכו מפי המברך האמתי ית"ש ותשכנו בטח ושאננים בכל עת וזמנים כרצונכם וכרצוני הדוש"ט אכי"ר.

אחר הדברים האלה באתי אני הצעיר עבדך להשתחוות אפים ארצה לפני אדוני ולרחוץ בחמאת אושר ויושר כושר הליכותיך הליכות עולם על כל חסדיך הנאמנים תמיד יצרוני ושמחוני מרוב רגזי ועצבוני ונהמת לבי כמו שגם עתה מה רבה תפארת ושמחת לבתי העצובה והעלובה בשורי שמיך מעשי אצבעותיך בכתבך הכתוב לחיים אלי צעיר עבדך ומשרתך ותלמידך מה מאד שמח לבי ויגל כבודי על כל דבריך ואותיותיך ושורותיך יצהירו ויזהירו לעיני. נמצאו דבריך ואוכלם ויהי דבריך לי לששון ולשמחת לבבי ומרפא וארוכה לכאבי העכשווי והרבית הגוי הגדלת השמחה עד שמלאה הבית מלא אורה מדבריך אלא לכמה עניינים יחרד לבבי ה א' שהלבישני אדוני מלבושים שלא נסיתי להלוך בהם שכנה אדוני או' אותי בשם

חזן ואב"ד הלא לזאת יחרד לבי במאד מאד ויתר ממקומו ותחתי ארגז כי אלו חס ושלום היה רואה את האגרת איזה איש מהמקושרים והעטופים היה מלעיג ומקליס עלי בכמה מיני קלוסין אלא זאת נחמתי כי לא ראה אותו שום בר נש. כי אני אינני חזן אלא מתפלל עד תום שנת אבלותי ואין לי חלק ונחלה בחזנות. ועוד שאינני ראוי לקרבה אל המלאכה כי ר ב ה היא. אמנם מן הראוי והמשובח שישוב הי"ם לאיתנו, ככ' וישב הים לפנות בקר לאיתנו. וכל חמדת ישראל עם כל בית אבי וגם אני עמהם בלבד לכתר רום מ"ת או ל ב נ ך ולא לאחרים לא באות ולא יהיה ואף ש ה ו א מ ת נ ש א אני אמלוך ולחכימייא ברמיזא. הב' שאדוני כתב באגרתו ו"ל ואם כי לשעה חדא הלבשתני מחלצות מחסדך. חי ראשי כי המהלצות אדוני לובש מימים רבים כי כבר קדמוני מכמה שנים חכמים גדולים כאריות בהעלותם את ש מ ך ו ז כ ר ך במעלות יותר ויותר גדולות ונבחרות וכן כלם גם היום יעידון יגידון כי הם ח ל ק ך ו ג ו ר ל ך ו ק ט נ ך כפלים עבה ממתני. ואם העליתי כמה מ ע ל ו ת י ך הם כמר מדלי נחשבו כי אין ק ץ ל מ ע ל ו ת י ך ואם הייתי מוסיף יותר ויותר כהנה וכהנה עדיין לא הייתי מובטח שכבר עמדתי בסוף מניין ת כ ו נ ו ת י ך כי מ ד ו ת י ך הן שלימים וכן רבים עולין בקנה חד במ"ח דרגין שמנו חז"ל ומעלותיך רבו מספר ואמרו רז"ל כל המוסיף גורע. וע"כ קצרתי בכל יכלתי ואמנם מעלותיך לנגדי תמיד ואדוני נר ישראל ואורו מאיר לנפשות הולכות במחשכים ומנחילם חיי עולם הצפון הנעלם. ה ג' שכתב אד' מ"ו ו"ל ואני בקצה המחנה. אמת שאדוני בקצה המחנה. ואני אע"פ שחונה בתוך המחנה אינני רואה אפילו כמלוא נימא למ"ת אעפ"י שאדוני שוכן בקצה המחנה. כי מי אני ומי חיי דל מאנוש אני ומדולדל ונבזה בעיני ובעיני אחרים. קטונתי בעיני כאיש תככים כנגד ג ד ל ך ו מ ע ל ת ך. וכל ישראל יעידו כי אדוני לא נגרש חס וחלילה מן המחנה אלא ע צ מ ך לא רצית לשכון מפני הדברים המטרידים את האדם מרדוף אחרי שלימותו. וע"כ בחרת לך להסיע דירתך לקצה המחנה כדי שתהיה יכול להתפרש ולהתקדש למדי כחפצך. וכל זה עשה אמ"ו בהקש ממשה רע"ה שגם הוא לקח אהלו ונטה מחוץ למחנה, ככ' ומשה יקח את האהל ונטה לו מחוץ למחנה הרחק מן המחנה וקרא לו אהל מועד והיה כל מבקש ה' יצא אל א"מ אשר מחוץ למחנה. וכן היה מנהג כל החסידים והפרושים. ויש דרש על מלת י ק ח כאו"ל יקח רמז מי שירצה להתפרש ולהתקדש למדי יקח את אהלו וירחיקהו מתוך חברת אנשים חטאים עכ"ל. וכמו שכל מבקש דבר ה' היה יוצא אל מחוץ למחנה אל אהל מועד, כן אנחנו קהל אם יפלא דבר ממנו יוצאים אנחנו בכל ענייננו לדרוש ולשאול כל הדבר הקשה מכת"ר רום מעלת תורתך. וכמו שהיה מעלת מרע"ה גדול מאד מערך מעלת דורו והיה שקול כנגד כלם אע"פ שהיה אהלו מחוץ למחנה, כן מעלתך גדול מאד לערך דורך השוכנים בתוך המחנה אע"פ שאדוני חונה בקצה המחנה, ואם נזכה לעת הבע"ל שישוב העטרה לישנה כחפצנו אז נשמח ונגיל במחלות המחנים כלנו למגדול ועד קטן. ה ד' מה שכתב אמ"ו על גב הכתב וז"ל מ ב י ת מ ש ת ה ו נ ג י נ ה .ידוע לכל מי שעיניו בראשו שהמשתה הוא משתה מלכים ושרים שנ' ויחזו את האלהים ויאכלו וישתו. והתורה כ פ ר ד ס. ולשון נגינה הוא הנגון

שמגן אדו' מ"ו בימי שבחות במזמורים נאים בהלל ושבח לאל דגול מרבבה, ולשון בית הוא ביתך אמ"ו שאדוני יושב בו וחוקר בעינים עמוקים וסודות צפונות וסגורות כדי להועיל לנו, ר"ל לבניך ולבני משפחתך ובהם אנחנו נתפאר. ה ה' מה שאמר אמ"ו ז"ל תלו סרחונות בי ובבני. אני אומר מי שתולה סרחונו' ידיו מגואלים בדם נקיים ואולי הוא עצמו משתמש בדברים ההם ורוצה גם לפגל בקדשים כדי שלא יהיה פתחון פה למוכיחים אותו. וארמיז קצת האיש העוכר שמו יצחק אחר העוכר את בנך. והוא לא בלבד עכר אותו אלא גם את כל ישרי לב בישראל כי מטבע המקור להמצא בנחצב ממנו. ואם יזכור אדוני ענין הארגזים הטמונים אשר היו בביתך בעת המלחמה וגם מה שמסר את אד' לפני הפריצה הידועה וגם לפני הפריץ שהלך ברגליו לאדוני ודבר דברים כהוייתם יאמין לכל זאת. אמנם אם לא אמות ואחיה ואנקמה נקם א' ממנו משתי עיני. והעינים הם הא' הוא אדוני עין ימיני והב' הוא בנך בכורך אשר אהבת אה' אחי עין שמאלי אשר אהבתו נטמנת בקירות טוחי, ובאורכם אראה אור מצד הסדיכם הבכור כבכורתו והצעיר כצעירתו ואדני יהיה עטרה לראשנו. ומי שספר לפני אדוני באופן אחר הוא ירחיק את עדיו וכבר רמזתי הטעם באגרת הראשון· ולולי שאני חס על הדיו והנייר, הייתי מגלה הסבות. אמנם אדוני מורי ורבי חכם כמלאך אלהים מבין דבר מתוך דבר ובטוב צדיקים תעלוץ קריה. ה ו' מה שאמר אמ"ו ז"ל אמנם אשר כתרך יראת מהקצף והחרון. אל תשים לבך לחמתי, ואם כי הכעס. אשיב לאדוני על זה דברים כהוייתן כי אני בשמעי דברי איש א' אהרן שמו והוא שולח מדנים ומנצר נתעב יוצא מגזע א' עם הנ"ל. ובבואו ממקום תחנותך ספר לי דברים מה שאין האזן יכול לשמוע וידעתי נאמנה שלא היה ולא נברא ואדוני יודע את האיש ואת שיחו. ואפשר אמר אדוני לפניו שאיכפת למ"ת שלא הגדתי הדבר. אמנם הוא בדא מלבו והוסיף על דבריך כהנה וכהנה. ובהיותי מחובר מן הפכים תליתי הענין על שתי קצות האפשר, וחשדתי את אדוני ומסבה זו הנה הסכלתי ואשגה הרבה מאד ופי כסיל מחתה לו, ואמת שאמרו חז"ל כי הכחות בלי ספורות והתהלפות המנהגים כפי העתים וכפי המקבלים עצמו מספר, ויש מציאות קיים בנפש מכל הכחות, אלא שהאדם נברא בצלם אלהים והוא מנהיג את עצמו בחכמה בכל הכחות, ע"ד משל החכם נוהג עם הטובים באהבה ועם הרעים והעקשים נוהג בשנאה וקצף וחרון, והמתנהג עמהם עם האהבה וענוה ומשפיל את עצמו לפניהם נוהג בסכלות. ובהיות שתי הדרכים נמצאים במציאות תורה החכמה באיזה דרך ילך כפי העת והמקבל. ובכן בכל איש ואיש מן הנבראים המחוברים מהפכים יש מציאות קיים מכל הכחות וכן הקצף והחרון נמצא בכלם. אמנם לקצף וחרון יש הפרש גדול בין הנבראים, כי קצף מרע"ה שנ' ויקצוף עליהם משה אינו כקצף פרעה הרשע שנ' פרעה קצף ע"ע ויתן אותי במשמר, כי באישים קדושים יש מתג ורסן עדיו לבלום ומתנהגים בהם כפי החכמה כדרך עם הסיד התחסד ועם עקש תתפתל. ובכן אפשר גם אדוני קצף עלי בקצף החכמה בעבור שהייתי כעקש ויצאתי מדרך המוסר וקצפך היה כפי החכמה, כמו שהיה קצף מרע"ה על דור המדבר. ומכל מקום לא אמרתי כי אדוני קצף על עבדו במוחלט כגון שנ'

פרעה קצף ע"ע שהוא ספור לפי שהוא באמת קצף והעיר כל חמתו. אמנם אני אמרתי מספור גדול עד מאד ממאמר זך החמר שאמר כי יגורתי מפני האף והחמה אשר קצף ה' עליכם, ודבר ברור הוא שהשי"ת הוא מסולק מכל ההרונות, ואף שנ' אשר קצף הוא ע"ד העברה. ע"ד הבאתי את הפסוק הזה תוך דברי כדי שלא לתלות וליחס לאד' את המדה הזאת באמת. ובבעו תקיפא אני מבקש לרום מ"ת שאם שגיתי תמחול ותסלח ותעביר את עוני ומודה ועחב ירוחם ושגיאות מי יבין. וה ז' מה שכתב אדוני ו"ל אמנם אחרי שחלקתי כבוד מע"ת לעבדך. מיד בראותי זאת כסתה כלימה פני ותאחזני פלצות את נפש חשקי שמתי לי לחרדה, כי יותר טוב היה לי אם היה מכה אדוני מ"ו אותי על לחיי כמה וכמה פעמים משיכתוב דבר כזה . אמנם מיום זה והלאה נא אדוני מ"ו תאהבני נדבה ועל כל פשעי תכסה באהבה, ותפל נא תחנתי לפניך אד' שאם תזכור אותי בפיך אצל מי ומי ההולכים בתורת ה' תאמר עלי תלמידי ואם תכתוב לי דברך דברים טובים ונחומים המאירים את נפשי והמשמחים את לבבי תכתוב ג"כ תלמידי ולא תכתב עוד מלת עבדך אלא במקומו תכתוב מלת רבך ואז אדע כי מצאתי חן בעיניך וזה יהיה לי לכבוד גדול כמו שהיה כבוד לאלישע הנביא שנ' אשר יצק מים ע"י אליהו. ובזה אקדים המקצר על המאריך והשי"ת ימיך ושנותיך יאריך וקרן מעלתך יגביה וידים כנפש אדוני מורי ותאוותו וכנפש דורש שלומך וטובתך באמת ובתמים בלי כתמים כל הימים שאהיה נבזה וחדל אישים עבדך ומשרתך ותלמידך יוצק מים על ידיך זה עני קרא לה' בעד רבוי שלומך והצלחתך הצעיר אברהם בלא"א ועטרת ראשי כמע"ר שמואל המשכיל עדר"ש יצ"ו.

נא אדוני מורי ורבי תתקן את הטעיות הנמצאות באגרתי, כידך הטובה עלי.

II

עם השלום והחיים ימצא כתבי זה את אהובי אחי ריח נחוחי שמשי וירחי ה"ה כמ"ע אברהם המשכיל הנכבד יצ"ו בן הנעלה כמ"ע משה הזקן הנכבד זצ"ל. ואתה שלום וביתך שלום וכל אשר לך שלום.

הן בזמן קרוב הודעתיך משלומי ומהנהיה עמי אשר יש בו די וכהיום באתי להודיעך קושט אמרי אמת ביני וביניך סודות גדולות ותצניעם ולא יראו החוצה כי ירעו לנו הקוצים הסובבים את השושנה, ואודיעך פרט ופרט כסדר שלושה ענייני סודות ורזים כמוסים. (הא') הרהבתני זה כמה פעמי' אודות הדפוס והשיבותיך בדברים בעלמא מחמת הפרסום, ולא היה בפי נכונה דבר דבור על אפניו מחמת כי אחרי שנמסרה מאתנו המלאכה הקדושה ההיא לידי הגביר כמע' שמחה בובוויץ יצ"ו כסבורים אנחנו שיוציא הדבר לפועל גמור ונכזבנו מפני כי האיש ההוא ירד מנכסיו פלאים ולא נשאר בידו פרוטה וחובותיו עלו למעלה מראשו לאין מספר לפי עדות פסוק לפני שבר גאון וכו', ועתה בדרך סוד הנני מודיעך כי כמה כרכורים כרכרנו ובתחבולות דברנו על לב הגביר הנ"ל עד שהסכים

להעשות הדפוס על ידי חברים. נוסף כי אדו' אחי החכם כמהרר' מרדכי[1] נרי' פרע את המעשה בהפחיתו את מחיר הספרים העתידים להדפס והוריד את שוויונם באזני ההמון ובזה עשה לנו רעה גדולה והזק גדול מפני כי דחפנו אותו מהשותפות ולכן לא יכולנו את הדפוס להוציא לאורה עד היום. ועכ"פ השתדלנו וקבצנו חברים ובראשם שמנו את הגביר הנ"ל כפי אשר כבר כתבנו לך אודות השתדלותך במלאכה ההיא כי דברנו בעדך טובות לאזני החברים שלא יבחרו איש זולתך וכל זאת עשינו להרבות בכבודך ותפארת משפחתנו. בכן עשה בחכמתך בעסק זה כי פה לא תתוועל מאומה מידי החברים חוץ ממה שתתכבד בעיניהם ודי למבין.. (הב') ידעתיך מקדם כסף ותאב לבוא לקירים לראות את גבירי וחכמי ואנשי הקהלות דפה וכי כסבור אתה לקבל תועלת גדולה מאת הגביר כמ' שמחה בובוויץ הנ"ל אם בענייני הפאדרדי[2] או שיתן לך בהלואה כעשרת אלפים רובלי למשך ב' או ג' שנים. טעית אהו' אחי בסברתך זאת כי אין לך לכסוף ולהטריח עצמך לבוא לכתחלה לכאן כי איננו קירים כמו שחשבנו אנחנו מקודם רק אין יראת אלהים במקום הזה לא באמונה ולא בענייני העוה"ז. ואם תאמר הגבירים הנה הנם עמי הארץ אין להם עסק [ואלא] בכיס וכוס רק לשונם תהלך בארץ ומתגברים בלא דבר. ואם תאמר חכמיהם, אין בהם לא חכמה ולא תבונה אפי' בא' מהם חוץ ממה שהיה הרב הקלעי המנוח[3] ראש לכלם וגם המנוח לא היה כל כך גדול כאדו' גיסי החכם היש"ר[4] נרי' וזולתו כבהמה נדמו אנם מביני' דבר ולא יוציאו משכלם תולדה בשום אופן. והכלל אין בקירים אפי' אחד מהכמיהם שידמה לנו וזה לך האות כי בעזרת החנון לאדם דעת אדו' גיסי החכם היש"ר נרי' חבר פירוש על ס' המבחר ועוד חבורים רבים ויקרים וגם אני כמוהו חברתי פה ב' ספרים וחבורים רבים ומחכמי קרים העכשוויים לא יצא לאורה מאומה ואם אפילו יזדמן לאחד מהם לתקן קינה לאיזה נפטר חשוב היא מלאה טעיות ואני או אדו' גיסי היש"ר נרי' מכרחים לתקן שגיאותם לפי בקשתם. ואמנם אדות שאר העם הס כי לא להזכיר כי רק שם ישראל נקרא עליהם וזולת זה אין בהם לא ידיעה ולא מעשה כלם לדמי"ם יארובו אין בהם לא תפלה ולא תחנה כלם מגולחי זקן חוץ מהזקנים שבהם כלם אוכלים משמנים ואינם חוששים לשום דבר טוב. גם קדשה יש בארץ בעו"ה כמו שתדע באמת בהגיעך הנה, והעם פרוע מאד כמו שרמזתיך מקודם. אכן מה שפללת להעזר מהגביר כמ' שמחה הנ"ל ולקבלת תועלת ממנו איעצך שחסיר מחשבה כזו מלבך כי לשוא תטרח וכבר הודעתיך כי אין לאל ידו ואינו כמו שחשבת עד שקראת אותו מיליונציק[5] והוא כעת נודד למצוא עזר לעצמו כי צר לו ואויביו ושונאיו כעת רבו כמו רבו. הנה אחי ידידי הודעתיך בקצרה על כל פרט כדי

1 מרדכי סולטנסקי, שהודח מרבנותו בלוצק (פלך וולניה) על ידי סכסוכים ובלבולים מצדו של פירקוויץ, והוכרח לנדוד לקרים.

2 Podriad ברוסית, קבלנות.

3 כוונתו ליצחק בן שלמה בעל „אור הלבנה" (ויטומיר תרל"ב), שהיה רב בקלעא (Tshufut-Kale).

4 יצחק שלמה ראטמאן, בעל „טירת כסף" על ס' המבחר (זוזולו תקצ"ד).

5 מיליונר.

שתדע על כל קוץ מענייני קירים ולא תתאוו לבוא לכהחלה התכבד ושב בביתך ואל תתבטל מעסקיך. אמנם בצאת מלאכת הדפוס לאורה אזי תוכל להביאט (sic!) בעצמך וזה לא בעבור קבל שכר ותועלת מידי הגביר הנ"ל לפי שסברת רק להרבות בכבודך לעשות שם טוב למשפחתנו כי יעלה שמך לזכר טוב בראשי הספרים הנדפסים ויהיה לך לשם ולכבוד עד עולם כי לזה נתכוונו אנחנו שנינו גיסיך וגם את אדו' אבי אכניסהו בין המדפיסים להיות שמו וזכרו עד עולם לכבוד ולתפארת. (שלישית) אודיעך דבר עקרי לכלל משפחתנו וזאת תמונתו. אתה ידעת את אשר יצא מתחת ידי בעלבון שעשיתי לאדוני אחי החכם כמהר"ר מרדכי הלוצקי נרי' אשר החרפתיו וחלולתיו עמך ביחד אשר גם אתה היית בעוזרי וחטאתי חטאה גדולה לא לתועלתי לבד כי נתכוונו להעלות קרן משפחתנו למעלה להראות בכל מקום כי גם במשפחתנו יש חכמים ולא יתנשאו המה לבדם בחכמי משפחתנו וכרכרתי כרכורים רבים וכתבתי אודותיו לקהלות קרים משאות שוא להדיחו ממנויותו כדי שאעמוד במקומו כידוע לך.. ואדו' גיסי הח' הישׁ"ר נרי' היה בעזרתנו לכבוד משפחתנו ועלתה ידינו על העליונה עד כי בבוא אדו' אחי הנ"ל גם לקירים לא הצליח לפני הגבירים כי הבאשנו את ריחו בעיניהם באופנים שונים והאמינו הגבירים לדברי אדו' גיסי החכם הישׁ"ר נרי' שהמליץ יושר בעדי עד שהחזיקוני הגבירים לאיש טוב וקבלוני באהרונה לחזן ומלמד וזה כבוד גדול למשפחתנו. ואותו עם בנו השפילו עדי ארץ והורידום מגדולתם והכרחו להבדל ממנויותם ובהשתדלות משפחתנו העמידו את אחיך האמתי לחזן ומלמד בלוצקא עד היום. וכבר ידעת כי במשך ימי חלוקתי כל מה שהייתי כותב לקהלות קירים ולכל מקום אודות המחלוקת ההיתה ביני ובין אדו' אחי הנ"ל היינו חותמים את שמות רבים מאנשי קהלנו על הכתבים ההם אני ואתה בעצמנו בלי ידיעתם. וזה הסוד לא נודע לשום איש זולתנו רק כי בבוא אדו' אחי הנ"ל לקירים הרגיש אותן החתימות וקרא תגר על החתימות ההן וצעק לפני הגבירים ועכ"פ לא נשמעו דבריו כי אדו' גיסי הח' הישׁ"ר נרי' הכזיב את דבריו וסכל לפני הגבירים ונחלט אומר מהגבירים לעשות פשרה וכן עשינו ומהרנו ועשינו פשרה ונמלטנו אז מן החשד של החתימות ולא יצא הסוד.. ואחרי שנתפשרנו עם אדו' אחי הנ"ל היתה לנו הרווחה והיינו לאנשים ועלינו לגדולה אני פה בגוזלווא ואחיך אהו' חתני בלוצקא ושם משפחתנו עלתה למעלה ראש.. וידוע לך כי פשרתנו היתה על תנאי שלא נכניס את כתב הפשרה לערכאות של הקיסר וקיימתי את התנאי ההוא כל עת היותי חונה שם בלוצקא אמנם בעת צאתי מלוצקא לבוא לקירים אז מפני יראתו שלא יתחכם אדוני אחי הנ"ל כנגד אחיך אהו' אחי כמה"ר יהודא נרי' למנעו מלהכנס לחזנות ומלמדות אז נתיעצנו עמך להכניס את הפשרה ההיא לערכאות וכן עשינו. וכשנודע הדבר לאדוני אחי הנ"ל היטב חרה לו ונכנס שמץ דבר בלבו ונתחרט על פשרתו. וזה לך האות כי בשנה דאשתקד בהגיעו פה לקירים באזני שמעתי את אשר דבר בפיו בעיני לפני אדו' גיסי החכם הישׁ"ר נרי' לאמר אני את נפשי הצלתי אחרי שהכניסו את כתב הפשרה לערכאות ופרצו גדר התנאי גם אני אשוב מפשרתי ואתדיין עמו בכל מקום שארצה ואם לא עתה כי עת צר לי הנה ימים ידברו בהיות לאל ידי.. ובשמעי אז את דבריו

אלו חרדתי חרדה גדולה שמא ישתדל לאמת לעיני הגבירים דפה איך בני קהל לוצקא רובם אינם יודעים אדות חתימת שמותיהם על הכתבים שלי מאומה, כי אין לו אופן אחר לשוב להתוכח עמי רק כשיכזיב אודות בענין החתימות ההן. והנני עודני בלוצקא שמעתי באזני מפי אהו' אחי כמ' יעקב גיסי יצ"ו ומפי שותפו חתנך כמ' פינחס הליטוי יצ"ו שהיו מתלוננים עלי אודות חתימותם ואמרו כי אנחנו נכתוב לקירים ונודה על האמת איך לא חתמנו את שמותינו על הכתבים שלך. והנה אחרי שהם בהיותם אחי ובני משפחתי מדברים כן כ"ש וק"ו שאר בני העם מקהל לוצקא אשר כלם אוהבים את אדו' אחי הנ"ל ובודאי יודו על האמת בעת שישאלו אותם הגבירים דפה כי אז יוכרחו להודות על האמת. גם אחי הנ"ל אז בהשביעם אותם גם הם יודו על האמת ויצא הסוד ונהיה לחרפה בגוים. ומחמת זה אני חרד ורועד וירא יומם ולילה מפני אדו' אחי הנ"ל שלא ישתדל עתה להכזיב את ההתימות ויצא הסוד ואתה למדת לפניו וידעת אותו כי חכם לב ואמיץ כח הוא ולבו כלב האריה סובל את כל הבא עליו ומשתדל בענייניו בחרש ובמתון ולא יודיע ענייניו לשום איש. ואפשר הוא כבר עתה משתדל בענין זה כי זה כמה פעמים מקודם לכן ראיתיו הולך לקלעא פעם אחר פעם כי שמה אוהבים אותו מאד.. גם כי לקח אשה מקירים ונוספו לו אוהבים ממשפחת אשתו ויהיו כלם בעזרתו בכל ענין. ואם כי פה בגוזלווא לא יוכל לעשות מאומה כי מרוחק הוא מעיני הגבירים ובפרט כמ' שמהה בובוויץ יצ"ו אינו מביט עליו בעין ההדור ואינו מחשיבו לאיש ואינו קוראו לביתו אפי' פעם א' מפני כי מקודם לכן הבאשתי את ריחו בעיניו ושאר הגבירים לא יעשו זולתו מאומה. ואם כי כמה"ר אהרן הגביר הוא נוגע למשפחת אשתו הנה גם ממנו לא יבנה מאומה כי הוא בטבעו אומר ואינו מקיים ואיננו עומד בדבורו, וזולת גזירת חתנו לא יעשה מאומה, נוסף כי הוא אוהבי מאד ויחוש על כבודי.. אמנם בק"ק קלעא יעשה ויצליח כרצונו כי כלם אוהביו.. בכן אהו' אחי אחרי שידעת את כל זאת לכן מן היום הזה והלאה לא תנום ולא תישן ולא תעביר מזכרונך רק עשה אזנך כאפרכסת והקשב בטוב באם בעת מהעתים תשמע שאלה מה מכאן אודות החתימות ההן אזי הושו וקומו כל המשפחה כא' להשתדל להשקיט את לב אנשי קהלתכם ולפייסם שלא יודו על האמת.. כי באם ח"ו תתרשלו ויודע הדבר אזי אדו' אחי יצלח למלוכה ואותי יסירו מהחזנות פה ואת אחיך יסירוהו מחזנותו בלוצקא ובפרט כעת אשר סכסוכים רבים נעשו פה ורבים קמים עלי ועל אדו' גיסי הח' הישר' נרי' ולבם של ההמון לאדו' אחי הנ"ל וכהיום אין לי פנאי להודיעך הענין ע"ד פרט ובזמן אחר יודע לך. ובזמן טכנה כזו אם יתוסף שמועת שקרות החתימות ההן אזי נהיה ללעג ולקלס כנ"ל.. בכן עשו למענכם ואל תתנו דמי לכם, ועכ"פ הנני מזהירך באזהרות גדולות שלא תוסיפו להרפו ולקללו כמקדם ולהרבות פצעיו חנם ואל תתחר במה שעבר כי אז השתדלותנו היתה רק להרים קרן משפחתנו ואחרי שכבר עלתה למעלה בעזרת השם אין מן הצורך לחרפו יותר פן נוסיף על הטאותינו פשע, רק מחוייבים אתם להשתדל לבטל את רצונו לבד בענין החתימות ולא יותר וזה בלי חרפה כי דיו במה שכבר קבל בכפלים מידינו. וגם אני אעשה כן ואשתדל להבאיש את ריחו יותר בעיני

הגבירים דפה שלא יכנסו דבריו באזניהם, גם את הכתבים שלי אודותיו אקבצם מכל מקום שהם לידי ואטמינם שלא יראו החוצה. ועתה אחי אל תשכח את אשר לפניך ומזה המעט שכתבתי לך תבין הרבה כי לא יכולתי להאריך כי גם על כל הכתוב אני בחרדה שלא יודע לשום איש ובסכנה גדולה אני שלא יתפרסם הדבר. בכן אהו' אחי למען השם תצניע את הכתב הזה או תשרפהו כי ח"ו אם יודע הדבר יקרה אותנו מקרה גדול ובפרט כי ידעת כי אוהביו של אדו' אחי הנ"ל רבים בלוצקא ואם ישמע באזניהם שמץ דבר מה ומה תכף יגידו לכאן ויגרשוני מהסתפח בנחלת ד', כי גם זולת זה אנחנו בפחד גדול מפניו כי הנה ביום שלישי לביאתו לכאן שלחו גבירי הקהל דפה התראה לאדו' גיסי הח' הישׁ"ר נרי' לאמר כי אם לא תשתדל בלמוד הנערים כראוי נסירך ממקומך ונמנה במקומך את רבי מרדכי. ותשער אחי אם בעת ההיא כך ואדרבה כעת שעת צרה היא לנו וכל שכן וק"ו כשיתפרסם שקרות החתימות ההן. בכן אהו' אחי אל תשכח את אשר הזהרתיך וכן הזהר מאד להצניע את הדברים האלה בלבך ולא תדבר אפי' באזני קרובינו מטוב עד רע, כי הנה ממה שכבר הודעתי לכם שמעתי פה כמה דברים בפי ההמון והבנתי כי בהיות בנו של אדו' אחי הנ"ל חי היה מודיע לאביו לכאן את כל הנשמע בלוצקא ואביו מספר להמון בכאן וכל זאת מסבתכם כי אני מודיע לכם כל על דרך סוד ואתם מדברים לאזני העם ועוף השמים יוליך את הקול. בכן עתה הזהר אחי ואל תדבר מאומה למען השם. ומהנהיה עמי אודיעך כי פרנסתי בצמצום גדול אפי' פרס שלי אינם נותנים בזמנו מהסבות שכבר הודעתי פעמים כמה ובחרטה אני גדולה אודות ביאתי לכאן ומה אעשה כי רציתי לתת מקום גם לאחיך וכ"נ[6] בעבור כבוד משפחתנו וזאת נחמתי לבד בראותי את עצמי מכובד בעיני הגבירים והעם בידעם את חכמתי וכי מחבר ספרים אני. גם אהו' בני כמ"ר יוסף שלמה עתיד הוא להיות חזן ושוחט לאחינו הדרים בעיר אביטושנא וכבר התפשרתי בעד פרסו לשנה מאתים רובלי מזומן ומלבוש שיצטרך וכל זאת תפארת משפחתנו והשי"ת ירים קרננו למעלה ונעשה שם לעצמנו בארץ. כ"ד אחיך דורש שלומך ומובתך הק' אברהם חזן דב"ק ומלמד בן א"א ועט"רש כמע"ר שמואל הגביר המשכיל הנכבד והנעלה יצ"ו

נכתב בחפזה באישון לילה אור ליום א' לס' ויקרא ג' לאדר שני שנת תקפ"ו לפ"ק

ומה שעלה עוד בלבי להזהירך דבר עקרי ג"כ לכלל משפחתנו וזה כמו שאספר. כי הנה את כתב הפשרה שביני ובין אדו' אוזי הנ"ל עם החתימות שתי הקהלות דפה אחרי שתרגמתי ללשון פולין להיותו מוכן להכניסו לערכאות מסרתיו לידי אדו' מסרפי כ"מ שמואל הגבאי יצ"ו וכהיום נכנס דבר בלבי ויראתי כי בשוב אדו' אחי הנ"ל ללוצקא כפי שיש בלבו ללכת לראות את יתומיו אזי אפשר יתהנן לכ"מ שמואל הגבאי הנ"ל וישיב לידו וימסור לו את כתב הפשרה הנ"ל וירע לי בזה מפני כי יש באותה הפשרה סודות כמו שידעת. גם את הכתב מקלעא ללוצקא שהביאונוהו שנינו ביחד מסרתי לידי כ"מ שמואל הנ"ל ובאותו הכתב גם כן סוד גדול לפי

6 = וכן גם.

שהודעתיך. בכן תשתדל אהובי אחי לעשות תחבולה מה ולהסיר את הכתבים ההם מידי הגבאי הנ"ל וקחם נא לידך ותצניעם ותסתירם אצלך או תשלחם אלי ותנוח נפשי וישקוט לבבי. ואל תשכח את כל זאת כי דבר עקרי הוא לי כמו שידעת גם אתה. ובזה שלום שנית..

ADDITIONAL NOTES

To the Article on the Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy Published in the Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume, Pp. 263–315.

By HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON, Harvard University.

P. 266. The confusion of Aristotle's *πρακτική* with his *ποιητική* must have been widespread in Arabic philosophy. Thus the classification given by the unidentified Ali in his *Epistle*, which has been preserved in a Hebrew translation (about which see Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, §204), is based upon the distinction between *theoretical* מלאכת מחשבת and *productive* מלאכת מעשה. The former comprises logic and philosophy in all its main divisions, by which is undoubtedly meant both the *theoretical* and the *practical* philosophy of Aristotle. The latter comprises all the *productive* arts and is subdivided into *commercial* מסחריות and *natural* טבעיות, namely, agriculture, boviculture and hunting, each of these having again many subdivisions.

See אגרת המוסר הכללי לאריסטו in קונטרס דברים עתיקים, ed. Benjacob, Leipzig 1844, p. 15:

אמר עלי הישמעאלי, ואחרי זאת אומר כי המלאכות נחלקות לשני חלקים, חלק מלאכת מחשבת, כגון חכמת הפילוסופיא ושעריה, וחכמת ההגיון ושעריו; וחלק מלאכת מעשה. ומלאכת המעשה נחלקת למלאכות טבעיות ומלאכות מסחריות. והטבעיות הם שלש. הראשונה עבודת האדמה להוציא ממנה המחיה והמזון מאכילה ושתיה. והשנית המרעה אשר ממנה תהיה תועלת המקנה הבקר והצאן. והשלישית מלאכת הציד. ובכל אחת מאלו השלש נכללות מלאכות פרטיות רבות.

The same *Epistle* contains another classification which would seem to be based upon Aristotle's threefold division into *theoretical*, *practical* and *productive*, retaining the distinction between the three divisions but giving the last one a new meaning and content. It appears on pp. 12–13:

ובעבור כי לפעמים יחשוב האדם כי מצא האמת רחוקה ממנו, נצרך השכל למלאכה אשר יכיר בה האמת מן הכזב בכל ענין, ויבחן בה בין הטוב והרע במעשים,

וישכיל בה בין הצדק והשוא בדעות, והחכמ׳ם הגידו כי זאת המלאכה היא מלאכת ההגיון. והחכם הגיד כי ההצלחה הגמורה נחלקת לשלשה חלקים: החלק הראשון בדעת יסודות השמים והארץ וכל ענייניהם, וכי יש להם סבה ראשונה, והוא הוד כבוד עושה הכל ומנהיגו ית׳ שמו, וכי כח השגחתו פושטת והולכת בהם, ועצמו הוא תכלית היסוד המבוקש מהם; ונחלקים גם כן לשלשה חלקים, חלק למודי וחלק טבעי וחלק אלהי. וחלק השני הוא להכיר ולדעת עניני האדם וכל עסקיו ואיזה מהם הוא הטוב; ונחלק ג״כ לג׳ חלקים, חלק תקון המדות והטבעים, וחלק תקון צרכי הבית, וחלק תקון צרכי המדינה. והחלק השלישי ללמוד [הענינים] המביאים החכמה. כגון למלאות חוק האמונה וחוק הנפש ולחובות(?) מסגולות [ולהרבות בסגולות :read] החברים וההון והכבוד והממשלת והשם הטוב.

Though the terms for the general main divisions are not given, the underlying scheme of the classification seems to be as follows: [*Propaedeutic*]: Logic. [*Theoretical*]: Mathematics, Physics, Metaphysics. [*Practical*]: Ethics, Economics, Politics. [*Productive*]: Practical rules for conduct in personal, domestic and social life. It is quite obvious that the last is meant to reproduce Aristotle's *productive* arts. The difference between the *Practical* and the *Productive* in this classification is made clear from the context as that between the *descriptive* and the *normative* phases of the sciences of ethics, economics and politics.

P. 268. The Hebrew מוסר as a translation of the Arabic ريا ضى and hence the Greek *προπαιδεία*, or rather *παιδεία*, has its analogy in the Septaugint where מוסר is often translated by *παιδεία*.

P. 274, n. 33f. The conjecture that חבור in the passage of Nissi ben Noah is to be taken in the same technical sense as קבוץ in the expression קבוץ הירח עם החמה finds corroboration in Cuzari IV, 29:

כי לא ישלם בירור הליכת הירח והתחלפות הליכתו לברר עת התחברו (אנחמאעה) עם השמש והוא המולד.

P. 279, n.52. While Algazali, Abraham Ibn Ezra and Afendopolo include astrology under physics, Abraham bar Ḥiyya, Falaquera and Rieti make it a co-ordinate branch of astronomy and put it under mathematics. This difference of opinion may perhaps be traced to Aristotle's question whether astrology (*ἀστρολογία*) is different from physics or is a part of it (*Physics* II, 1, 193b, 26). While *ἀστρσλογία* here means "astronomy," it is pos-

sible that it was taken by some in the sense of משפטי احكام النجوم הכוכבים (astrology) instead of חכמת הכוכבים علم النجوم (astronomy).

P. 283, n. 68. A list of Hebrew terms for "secular" sciences has been collected by Dr. Ignácz Hirschler in the Hungarian *Festschrift* in honor of Moses Bloch (pp. 107–114), Budapest 1905. (I am indebted for this reference to Dr. George A. Kohut).

Pp. 283–5. A new classification of the "seven sciences" is given in the poem *Al-Saba'niyyah* by Abu 'Imran Moses Tobi with its Hebrew translation and commentary *Batte ha-Nefesh* by Solomon ben Immanuel Dapiera (published by Hartwig Hirschfeld in the *Report of the Judith Montefiore College*, 1894). The poem speaks of the sciences as being "seven" in number (§30), but the enumeration of the particular sciences in the Hebrew translation does not agree with that of the Arabic original. In the Arabic (p. 20) the seven sciences are: (1) Religion אלעלום אלאדיאן, §25. (2) Medicine עלם אלטב, §25. (3) Physics עלם אלטביעה, §26. (4) Metaphysics ומן בעדה, §26. (5) Logic קאנון אלברהאן, §27. (6) Astronomy עלם אלהאיה, §28. (7) Geometry עלם אלמקדאר, §28.

In the Hebrew translation (pp. 35–38) they are: (1) Theoretical Medicine חכמת הרפואה....חלקה הראשון שהיא החכמה העיונית §25. (2) Practical Medicine כי זה תכלית הרפואה ר"ל המעשה שהוא חלק השני, §25. (3) Physics החכמה הטבעית, ידיעות טבעיות §26. (4) Metaphysics החכמה האלהית, ידיעות אלהיות §26. (5) Logic ההגיון §27. (6) Mathematics למודיות §28. (7) Astronomy חכמת ככבים, §29.

P. 297. In the Iḫwan al-Safa's and Judah ha-Levi's analyses of Aristotle's *Physics* the following topics are enumerated: 1. Matter. 2. Form. (3. Privation). 4. Nature. 5. Time. 6. Space. 7. Motion. The first three topics clearly refer to Book I of the *Physics*, 4 to Book II, 5 and 6 to Book IV, and 7 to Book III. The question may be raised, Why is Book III placed after Book IV and why are Books V—VIII omitted? The answer would seem to be that "Motion" in these analyses does not only refer to Book III but also to Books V—VIII. Aristotle's *Physics* was originally divided into two distinct treatises, the first consisting of Books I—VI (or I—V) and the second of V, VI, VIII (or VI—VIII). Aristotle usually refers to the first group as the *Physics*

or the book *On Nature*, and to the second as the book *On Motion* (See W. D. Ross, *Aristotle*, p. 11). It is also possible that in early Arabic versions of the *Physics* Book III was placed after Book IV together with the other books on motion.

P. 300. Avicenna's characterization of some branches of mathematics as being more closely connected with physics may have its origin in Aristotle's description of perspectives, music and astronomy (literally, astrology) as the more physical branches of mathematics (*Physics* II, 2, 194a, 7–8).

P. 303, n.155. In the Hebrew commentary on the *Al-Sab-a'niyyah* (p. 37) the term משקולות is used in the sense of music: וחכמת המוסיקא והיא חכמת משקלי הלחנים והניגונים, והן חכמת המשקולות נאמר עליהם נעימות וראויות. Literally the expression משקלי הלחנים means "the rhythm of sounds."

P. 303, n.155. The query raised by me as to whether חבור could not be taken as the Arabic خبر is to be dismissed. The explanation in the *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV: חכמת חבור הנגונים, is not a Hebrew gloss but a translation from an Arabic expression. The expression occurs in the Arabic original of the *Hobot ha-Lebabot* (p. 4, 1.9) تاليف اللحون وهو الموسيقى. The term חבור is a literal translation of the Greek ἁρμονική.

P. 311. In corroboration of my conjecture that Maimonides' fourth branch of practical philosophy is the science of religious legislation called נימוסים we may quote the following passage from Falaquera's *Reshit Hokmah*, pp. 58–59:

וכל זה [i.e. ethics, economics, politics] נזכר בספר אפלטון וארסטו בהנהגה. ומה שהוא נתלה בה מהנבואה והדת כמו שנזכר בספריהם בנימוסים. והפילוסופים אינם רואים מה שיחשבו אותם ההמון כי הנימוס הוא הפיתוי והתחבולה אלא הנימוס אצלם הוא הדין והדבר הקיים ברדת הנבואה, והערביים קורים למלאך המוריד הנבואה נימוס. וזה החלק מהחכמה המעשית תודיע מציאות הנבואה וסגולת כל דת ודת כפי עם ועם וזמן וזמן, וההפרש אשר בין הנבואה האלהית ובין המתנבאים לשקר.

It has already been established that the Arabic ناموس has two etymologies and two distinct meanings: 1. As the Greek *νόμος* it means "law." 2. As an original Arabic word it means "secret" and hence "revelation." (See Dozy, *Supplément aux*

Dictionaries Arabes, under ناموس). These two meanings have often been combined in Arabic, and this passage of Falaquera seems to show that a similar combination of the two meanings had been imported into the Hebrew נימוס (cf. Leopold Dukes, *Philosophisches aus dem Zehnten Jahrhundert*, p. 89, n.5).

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